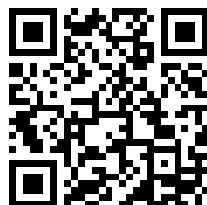

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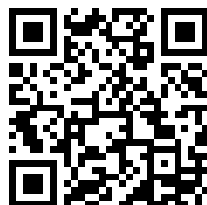
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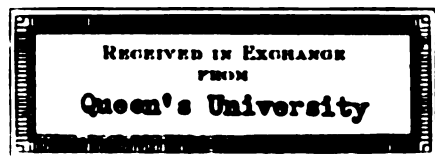
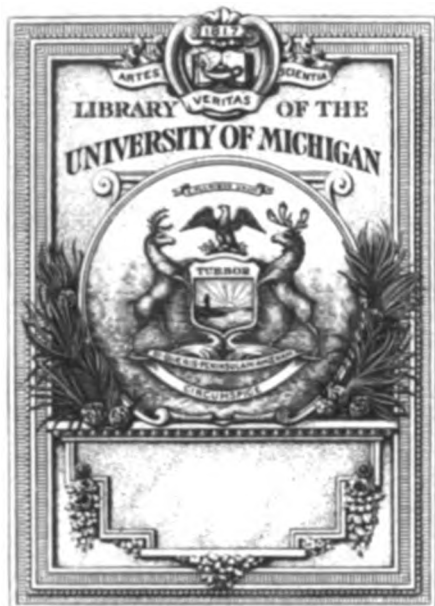
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THE Century which is just closing has witnessed wide reaching changes in the structure and general conditions of civilized society. The great awakening of commercial activity and the rapid movement of people from one locality or country to another have broken in upon settled social establishments. New lands, new areas of productive power, new methods of manufacture and improved processes, together with greatly increased means and facilities for intercommunication have revolutionized old economic conditions and practices. The result of the change to different conditions of life is that great numbers of people, engaged in industrial pursuits, for example, find it almost impossible to adapt themselves to a world constantly unfolding itself before them in new ways, and this either because they are totally unfitted to adopt a change of employment or because they are ignorant of the means whereby freedom from economic thralldom may be secured. Hence, the ordinary man seeks at once to inquire the reason of the many difficulties which he is constantly forced to meet, but contented with a more or less imperfect examination of conditions he assumes that the whole of society is quite astray. He sees only a state of affairs where the rich are prospering at the expense of the poor and soon he becomes at war with himself and his fellows. His practical life leads him to set up a 'social problem' which must of necessity

have a definite social cure. The whole economic structure rests for him on some sort of foundation which he thinks in a more or less vague way is wrongly laid and wrongly built upon. Hence depending on his definite, limited ideas, he is ready to adopt any scheme, any proposition which looks to wholesale reconstruction. The point of view of the ordinary moral reformer is exactly the same, there is a certain moral evil: it must have a certain definite cure. Once we have obtained a new economic structure the artisan's happiness is complete;—once we arrive at a wholesale plan for the regeneration of evils in the state the heaven of the reformer is won. An additional element which influences the man engaged in endeavor to strengthen morality is this, that many of the later movements appear to strike at the root of settled religious observances. The shock to the religious world from inquiry and criticism seems to have been already sufficient to unsettle faith; and in his alarm at the more radical effects which new economic tendencies seem to threaten, the reformer falls back upon the past and is ready with every weapon to fight for old ideas at any cost.

As in the world of trade and commerce so in the region of intellectual work, great achievements have been wrought. Here the evidence would seem to indicate that most has been done in the field of the more practical sciences. Long in a semi-dormant state they seek to occupy the whole intellectual field. Not that literature, philosophy and the arts have no place: not that determined effort on the part of noble minds is not being made to recall the multitude to the ideal life. Such efforts are being continually put forth and are silently working a revolution whose results shall be more fully apparent only when the reaction against the scientific spirit has properly come. Now the characteristic of scientific inquiry is that it is constantly looking for actual results. Definite accomplishment is its watchword. But when we bring this scientific method into the world of politics and society we are seeking to make use of a method and a spirit which requires to be very carefully employed. For the scientific spirit, as I have said, looking to definite accomplishments, is taken up by the labor leader or the zealous social reformer who each in his own way thinks he has discovered a scientific foundation for the ideas and aims that his every day life has fixed for him.

I hope I shall not be supposed to mean that scientific teaching necessarily narrows men's views or leads to purely materialistic results in the various activities of life. But rather that by the nature of such teaching and study those who are grown impatient of the slow inquiry into social questions or those whose training is not such as to warrant the use of scientific methods are led to devise short means whereby some tangible results may be the more readily won in the field of reform.

On this side of the sea the comparative ease with which nature has been conquered, together with a wide freedom that confirms our British pride in doing as we like, has strongly tended to accentuate our delight in definite accomplishment. Moreover a large part of the American people have long considered that all good things come from the Government and we in Canada are ready to adopt the same view. It tends to shift responsibility and we forget that our real governors are after all ourselves. Too many of our law-makers also fall to the level of demagogues and truckle to every sectional wish of the electorate. Hence the moral reformer seeking to ameliorate aggravated conditions of life or to root out some evil in the state and approaching the matter from the 'problem' point of view naturally looks for a special means of accomplishing his purpose. And since the most expeditious machinery is that of special legislation, Parliament is expected to do all that is necessary by granting some kind of a remedial measure. Hence our Legislative Halls are besieged by suppliants asking for peculiar legislation, relying upon petitions numerously signed by the electors. Therefore it follows that many of our statutes are purely efforts of a distracted party to conciliate a rebellious element in its ranks or perhaps to forestall the Opposition, by gaining for example the favor of the Lord's Day Alliance or the Licensed Victuallers Association.

With these preliminary observations let us proceed to investigate some of the principles that should guide us in endeavoring to place upon the statute books acts that deal more or less directly with moral questions. Having done this we shall then pass on to consider briefly some particular aspects of our present legislation.

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In the early stages of Hebrew history legislation and morality were in complete harmony for no differentiation had

taken place and there was little complexity of interests—no varying and various sectional demands. This is also true of every early and more or less rude society. But with the progress of the years, as commerce and trade grow in all directions, consequent upon the increasing needs and wants of men, interests multiply and grow exceedingly complex. Old tribal distinctions so readily arranged and regulated in their early forms become difficult elements to manage when they appear in the form of modern class differences still engaged in a warfare of conventions if not of a more serious kind. It is further rendered more difficult to maintain a real unity in our state life when we have to endure many distressing legacies bequeathed to us from the past; perhaps none more so than that derived from the Middle Ages compelling us to look upon the religious life as one thing and the secular life as another. Naturally then law and morality are very difficult to harmonize, and Acts of Parliament may have very little real connection with the spirit of the nation.

Sir Henry Maine and others have very clearly pointed out that the natural development of legal ideas begins with law as custom, passes through the stages where custom is supplemented and relieved by equitable maxims and fictions that serve to modify and relax the rigid rules of common law, and issues eventually in the open conscious shape of law-making when rules are fixed by legislative acts. Here old and settled maxims are freely dealt with, perhaps abolished altogether, perhaps widened and extended by express measures. Let us observe then, briefly, how this process goes forward and the result arrived at. The intense conservatism of custom can be broken in upon only by a fiction, or an equitable innovation that must conceal its effect while it silently works a revolution. It is simply the same movement as where a lower and more or less fixed mode of life, or thought, or conduct is caught up and transformed by a higher spirit of teaching. Now the work of fiction and equity proceeds in such a manner as to meet and maintain an ethical advance that has grown up unconsciously in the minds of individuals. And because the equitable rule supersedes the rule of custom without being openly revolutionary, not only is there nothing lost, but on the other hand, morality is preserved in its advance and a new foundation is laid for a greater and a further triumph.

The movement is of such a truly rational kind as to induce men to look up to the innovation with every respect, the prime condition for maintaining any law. But when we proceed further and arrive at the stage where legislation steps in, a new spirit is in the air, and we observe a new found power, great in its possibilities for good, yet greater in its possibilities for evil, since it may go so far as to create conditions which may even prevent the maintenance of law and order.

Mr. Lightwood in his *Nature of Positive Law*, referring to the difference between English and German ideas of law, offers a very likely foundation for the mechanical attitude of the English system—an attitude, moreover, that lends itself readily to the view that Acts of Parliament are all powerful. “There were” he says, “two great legacies which Rome bequeathed to the mediæval world. One was the pattern of centralized government, the other, the law which she had elaborated in the course of a thousand years. By a course of events only remotely indeed connected with the Roman influence, England obtained a firm centralized government sooner than any other nation, but at the same time she conceived a strong antipathy to Rome, and refused to participate, openly at least, in the other great benefit she had given to the world. Germany, on the other hand, though she seemed to be the direct heir of the Roman Empire received this only in name. The reality which she did receive was something quite different; it came not in the person and Court of the Emperor, but in the Digest of Justinian. Of the two legacies then which Rome bequeathed, we may say in brief, that England received immediately Empire, but no Law, and Germany received Law, but no Empire.”

In England also, the feudal system fixed the King as the legal head of the nation, and when Parliament after a long struggle has come to stand practically in the King's place, with royal prerogatives changed to Legislative Acts, the power of the people's representatives is complete. It was for Hobbes to make clear that law as such must be obeyed, simply because it is the Sovereign's command. So leading English jurists, like Austin, for example, following out this idea and influenced by the notion of Empire, recognizing the all powerful position of Parliament, proceed to lay down the true bases of law which would seem to result in this, that the Legislature is the true law-giver, because

in this way law issues from a definite power, backed by a definite sanction. This idea of sanction implies that the notion underlying English jurisprudence is that of a constant restraint upon a people who are continually breaking through its bounds. Hence, in the hands of the over-zealous reformer, Legislation becomes an implement, aided perhaps by all the terrors of fines and imprisonment that belong to the machinery of penal acts, to be used as a kind of lash for whipping an unwilling people into line. This was not the spirit of the Roman Law, nor of the German, its legitimate successor. In Rome, law was developed chiefly through the instrumentality of the jurists, who themselves fully in touch with the life of the nation, sought to bring into a nice harmony with life every rule and maxim of their favorite pursuit; and the German jurists have endeavored to carry out the same idea. Therefore, when a system of law is worked out, mainly by scientific jurists patiently and steadily laboring through long periods of years, rather than by the more radical instrumentality of legislation, we must of necessity derive a body of rules much more in keeping with the moral progress of the people. It is because the former method is one eminently natural and logical, that legal rules can scarcely ever be expected to outrun morality and endeavor to unduly enforce ideas in advance of the people under the purely legal justification of expediency. In our English system, our Judges correspond to the jurists of Rome, and a brief observation of the two kinds of legal machinery which we have, namely, decisions of Courts and Acts of Parliament will show the great possibility for imperfections in legislation. The Court being the interpreter which endeavors to declare a true rule of law, sits for the hearing of an argument upon a certain set of circumstances. Two or more personal interests may be represented, and every fact and detail is fully investigated through the stimulating research that Court practice demands. Then the calm judicial mind of the judge will be exerted to discover the rule that shall be the rule of justice, as warranted by the particular circumstances, and similarly by all others of a like kind, and a rule that must of necessity be an almost perfect reflection of the people's life. It is again the old spirit of custom, natural, logical, rational. The Parliament in its endeavor to fix a rule by legislation, frequently arrives at a

very different result. In the hurry of legislative methods there is scarcely ever complete discussion. The passion, pride, or ignorance of the law maker has free play to put upon the statute book any rule that seems to him at the time the proper thing to please his constituents. There is no calm judicial investigation of the facts. Perhaps the eagerness of accomplishing an ideal, causes the law maker to forget conditions around him, and to arrive at a conclusion that is certainly not the echo of the national life, and not what springs from the morality of the time. Here is the place where the zeal of the legislature outruns its discretion, and we arrive at the position where Acts of Parliament are striving to enforce morality by means of legislative 'blows and knocks,' and endeavoring to bend individuality to a mistaken notion of the common will. We observe, moreover, that the legislator seeks to make the effectiveness of law depend upon its sanction, by providing special penal clauses for carrying his statute into effect. But where custom makes the rule, sanction is only an occasional necessity coming in by way of a natural demand when the innate consciousness of right is being violated. Hence we derive the teaching that rules of law are necessary to show how rules of morality are to be enforced—that is, necessary to maintain and give substance to morality—but not to actively promote moral aims by forcing people to acknowledge ideals when the general sense has not made itself more or less perfectly acquainted with those ideals. Legislation, therefore, must be careful as to how far it shall interfere in moral questions, because by undue interference it may prevent individual action, which is the condition for having any morality at all. The active aggressive feature of legislation has its place in some such attempt as that of preventing a gross evil or abuse; in enacting for example, as recently here in Canada, laws against gambling and gambling houses, or perhaps to prevent and curb the crime of insurance murder—practices that strike at the very life of the state itself and that demand treatment by criminal or quasi-criminal measures. I may at length be allowed to offer what seems to me a fundamental criticism upon the attempt to actively promote morality by legislation. The relation of legislation to morality implies the settlement of the question as to whether moral duties should be enforced by law, a settlement

which is not far to seek, for as Green remarks, duties of this kind simply cannot be so enforced. Moral duties to act in a certain manner depend upon dispositions and motives, which are the outcome of the private individual life, and cannot be touched by any social regulation. Therefore, when the Legislature seeks by its acts to change the spirit and the ideals of men, it is working according to an inverted order of ideas. Men must first fix their ideals themselves, and proceed to carry them into execution, using legislative and every other means as aids to their purposes, but constantly remembering that, "Force does not so much indicate the majesty of the law, as show that there is a defect somewhere in the social machine."

We have thus far briefly noticed that in the early stages of society, law and morality coincide, that when the power of custom and the influence of public opinion have no longer the same place, we arrive at the stage where law and morality separate, the former adopting a new rule for its guidance, namely, that of expediency. The increasing complexity of interests and the necessity for making rules to meet new conditions and urgent cases form the ground for legislative action, but the fundamental ground-work for all law remains the same. Legislation should not here forget its place—namely, that it is but a supplement to the Court—another kind of machinery for conserving and maintaining morality. When it steps out of this region and endeavors to promote morality by statutes that are hedged around by penal restrictions and various other sanctions, it can only hope to perform effective work when the moral sense of the nation as a whole is strongly confirmatory of its provisions. Once legislation attempts to go beyond this position it invades the field of morality unnecessarily. It proceeds to raise a legal fabric that shall be its own most severe critic. For the individual freedom of men ever striving to actively assert itself, will not be hedged around by conditions that unnecessarily restrain its free exercise. Over-restraint simply produces a state of affairs that engenders a contempt for every institution, where people will cease to recognize in the law "the condition of their existence, and feel the violation of the same as a fatal blow at themselves." Emerson says in his *Essay on Politics*, "Republics abound in young civilians, who believe that the laws make the city, that grave

modifications of the policy and modes of living, and employment of the population, that commerce, education, and religion, may be voted in or out ; and that any measure, though it were absurd, may be imposed on a people, if only you can get sufficient votes to make it a law. But the wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand, which perishes in the twisting, that the state must follow, and not lead the character and progress of the citizen ; the strongest usurper is quickly got rid of ; and they only who build on ideas, build for eternity ; and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it. The law is only a memorandum."

Let us now turn to the more direct aspects of the question and consider it more specifically under a few special heads. And first we shall notice briefly sumptuary laws in general. There has been a period in the history of the legislation of almost every people when the popular assembly was looked upon as the instrument remedial for granting freedom from every evil, and stringent laws were passed concerning matters which we have come to regard as impossible subjects of legislation. The ancient Locrians, terrified by their own lawlessness and disorder following the founding of their new settlement, applied for advice to the Delphic oracle. They were counselled to adopt the Code of Zaleucus and one of his ordinances was, that no woman should appear in the streets attended by more than one maid unless she were drunk. So in Rome the Lex Orchia limited the number of guests who should attend a banquet, and the Lex Fannia what sum should be spent at certain festivals. In England, sumptuary laws were the fashion from the time of Edward III. to the Reformation. It was a time when the English nation was expanding, Saxon, Norman and Celt were tacitly agreeing to become Englishmen. Men's minds were directed more and more to overcome the extravagances of a time that had been unsettled by war and civil strife, and by the new relationships rapidly forming. And so a statute, passed in the tenth year of Edward's reign, after narrating that "through the excessive and over many costly meats which the people of this realm have used more than elsewhere many mischiefs have happened for the great men by these excesses have been sore grieved, and the lesser people who

only endeavor to imitate the great ones in such sorts of meats are much impoverished whereby they are not able to aid themselves, nor their liege lord in time of need as they ought, and many other evils have happened as well to their souls as their bodies," proceeds to enact that : " No man shall cause himself to be served in his house, or elsewhere at dinner, meal, or supper, or at any other time with more than two courses, and each mess of two sorts of victuals at the utmost, be it of flesh or fish, with the common sorts of pottage, without sauce or any other sort of victuals : and if any man chose to have sauce for his mess he well may, provided it be not made at great cost : and if flesh or fish are to be mixed therein, it shall be of two sorts only at the utmost, either flesh or fish and shall stand instead of a mess." Numerous other examples of the same kind of legislation might be given. If we look into these laws and inquire as to their success we shall invariably find that they were much more honored in the breach, than in the observance. Mr. Froude who tries to offer an explanation or apology for their enactment in England, thinks that they are to be looked upon as authoritative declarations of what wise and good men considered right, rather than laws to which obedience could be enforced. Indeed all such legislation is simply the attempt to directly enforce the doing of certain moral duties which as already pointed out is an impossibility. Accounts of the old Locrian life would seem to indicate that they carried out their laws with some measure of success. But it must be remembered that their territory was comparatively small, that it was in a rather rude age when interests were not very complex, and that the system of government for the most part was of a military kind where rigid obedience was summarily enforced.

A question which has given rise to much discussion in Canada, is the proper regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. The legislator and the laymen alike have been face to face with the difficulties which this subject presents. Judge Sinclair in the preface to his work upon the ' Liquor License Act of Ontario ' remarks that " there has been no branch of legislative or judicial practice more complex or troublesome, and no subject has awakened greater public interest on the American Continent than that dealing with the traffic in intoxicating

liquors." Yet according to the orthodox temperance lecturer, nothing is more easy than to pass a prohibitory law and straightway the evil trade is banished from the land. We have had a perfect deluge of opinions on the subject in the press, on the public platform, and at every street corner, and the whole affair seems barren of results except perhaps that the discussion, like every such discussion, has induced individuals here and there to consider. Through the plebiscite discussion there were pointed out objections of considerable force against our passing a prohibitory law. It was held by many to be unfair that such a law should be recorded without compensation to those who had acquired settled interests in good faith under the present system. It was repeatedly observed that our country with its long frontier, lying beside a nation that contained the traffic could be flooded with an illegal trade that should in many ways cause our officials and government a great amount of trouble and anxiety. But the real difficulty in Canada is the lack of a proper sentiment to endorse a prohibitory measure, or, if it be more acceptable to so state the position, that the movement was in advance of our morality—that it was based too much upon the idea of what we should accomplish, and not what we could attain. Many of our people showed scarcely any interest in the question, and certainly no enthusiasm such as the ordinary parliamentary election arouses: many others were directly opposed to the vote, either because they wished the traffic to be retained, or because they objected on principle to prohibition. On the other hand a large vote was given in favor of the measure. Now here is an electorate sufficiently divided against itself. If as it has been said, "Morality consists in the presence of some element of the social purpose as a moving idea before the individual mind," surely in the face of the evidence, it could not be contended that we have in Canada anything like a social purpose looking to the enactment of a prohibitory law. Throughout the discussion it was frequently argued that since we have a law prohibiting murder, and it is not thought an interference with individual freedom, then if we pass a prohibitory liquor law, we shall likewise make a proper encroachment upon individual freedom, and we shall find that its provisions will be maintained. But, a law against murder is the effort to prevent acts which are

aimed directly at the very life of the state itself. The common consciousness of men admits without question the justice of such a rule, and its precepts are readily confirmed by all but the very few whose hands are raised against every man. This spirit of maintaining the law at all hazards cannot be expected from, and is never found in a society which does not regard the drinking habit as a crime. Moreover the suppression of murder must operate by means of the criminal law, a kind of machinery that is suitable to control and regulate only the most open immorality. Now it is also true, that every prohibitory measure whether of trade or of vice, finds its effectiveness through the enactment of penalties, a kind of legislation which is therefore of a semi-criminal nature. Hence, when the aid of every man is not voluntarily offered to work out such legislation, it becomes effective only through the activity of the common informer, and by means of a wide system of espionage which as Montague remarks in his *Limits of Individual Liberty*, "would revolt all honorable men, make all vile men formidable, and poison all the innocent pleasures of existence." As to the statement that such a law would find ready endorsement in Canada, we could certainly not infer this to be the fact from a consideration of the recent vote. The point therefore, where such a law finds its limitation, is just wherever at the time the common opinion of men will freely aid the enforcing of the statute. The Liquor License Act of Ontario is in many respects a prohibitory measure designed to actively promote morality. Its effective working in this respect depends upon the activity of the informer, and in practice this is just where the Act works imperfectly. It is proposed by active temperance people to amend the Act and increase the prohibitions, and every session Parliament is forced to listen to stronger representations in this respect. As to the advisability of such a proceeding, I may refer to a remark made a few days ago by Judge McDougall with regard to enforcing the law against the many places where liquor is illegally sold in Toronto. "The question is a very troublesome and perplexing one. The administration of any sumptuary law is always difficult. I do not think you can make the provisions of the license law any more stringent." So also in the case of the Scott Act—experience has shown that like the old sumptuary laws, its fame is derived

chiefly through the ingenuity of those who by various strange and cunning devices found ways and means for violating the law.

Again, as our morality advances litigation falls off and we are more and more disposed to submit our disputes to the arbitration of a solicitor or a common friend. Also with the progress of general education the work of the Criminal Court is rapidly diminished. Therefore, any Act of Parliament which tends to increase litigation and any act, especially, which sets in motion the criminal law or any series of prosecutions under penal regulations which are always of quasi criminal nature is decidedly a step backward, breaking in unwarrantably upon a steadily developing principle of progress. A glance at the reports of convictions during the years while the Scott Act was in operation will show that the number was much greater than in the years since. It may be argued that this came from the endeavor to enforce a very necessary law, but it may be answered that in a peaceful and progressive society frequent recourse to prosecutions bears strong evidence of the fact that the statute is seeking to effect some aim forced upon the unwilling mind of the people. It is encouraging the spirit of resistance to law.

Moreover, a law too restrictive in its provisions directly tends to weaken morality in various ways. Mr. Wells, in his *Recent Economic Changes*, in discussing the effects of high tariffs set by European nations some years ago when protection was looked to as the panacea for every economic difficulty, points out that Spain, by excessive trade restrictions, reduced her commercial morality to such an extent that the only man who was looked up to with respect was the contraband trader, because in defiance of laws he strove to follow the natural course of trade. In respect to the practice of smuggling in connection with the liquor traffic, "for many years the Dominion Government has been trying to put down the liquor smuggling trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but without much success. In some of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick counties where the Scott Act is now in force smuggling from the French Island of Miquelon is a well established industry. Smuggled liquor is also brought from New England. It is not whiskey but green alcohol manufactured in the distilleries of the corn States and shipped in bond ostensibly to Miquelon or Newfoundland and transferred in the open

sea to Canadian vessels bound up the Gulf. It is hard to form an estimate of the amount of this stuff conveyed into the country by this side door every year. I have heard government officers place it as high as 500,000 proof gallons. Anyway, the present Minister of Customs has found it necessary to augment the preventive force by the addition of a special service including one or two armed cruisers in charge of Mr. Frederic Jones, a competent man. The cost of this special service alone will exceed \$40,000 a year. What would occur in the gulf?—what sum would it be necessary to spend if an attempt were made to enforce prohibition with the people of the Gulf parishes and of Quebec as a whole hostile to the law?" I shall leave this part of my subject with a few pertinent remarks made by Sir William Vernon Harcourt. "I know some people imagine that if you could only enforce sobriety by law you would get rid of the greater part of the misery and vice in the world. But unfortunately for this theory we know that the most sober places in the world are among the most miserable and the most vicious. The southern people are far less addicted to drink than those of northern climates. They are not more virtuous, more industrious or less criminal. These people have missed the point. What really makes sobriety valuable is the voluntary self-control, the deliberate self-denial which resists temptation and leads a man for the sake of himself and others to abstain from vicious indulgence, and this is a thing that you cannot create by Act of Parliament."

Another topic of interest which may be dealt with as included in the subject of this paper, and to which I shall briefly refer is that of legislation regarding the Sabbath. Here also our public opinion is much divided against itself. Mr. Charlton declares on the floor of parliament that the publishers of Sunday newspapers are the enemies of every moral and religious restraint, and he annually introduces some restrictive measure. The member for West Toronto rises to criticise, and declares that he has no sympathy with 'grandmotherly legislation'. The Lord's Day Alliance during the past year or two has been unusually active in looking for breaches of the Lord's Day Act, and in endeavoring to understand what is the position under the Act of what might be called to-day the new economic man, namely, the

Corporation. The Alliance is certainly meeting with many difficulties. The test cases have arisen more especially in reference to the running of Sunday Street Cars. A brief glance over the cases that have served to construe the British North America Act, and establish the respective spheres of Dominion and Provincial control, shows that a large number of these cases first arose under the statutes passed from time to time looking to the regulation of the liquor traffic. The recent attempt to prosecute the Metropolitan Railway Company at Toronto, and the questions that are likely to arise in any proceeding against the Ottawa Street Railway for example, go to show that the meaning of our Constitutional Act may be still further elucidated through the attempts to enforce the working of amendments to the statute governing the observance of the Lord's Day. So that if these Acts are not the most worthy kind of legislation, they may prove of considerable value to the Constitutional lawyer of the future. But the attitude which our legislation will bear to the observance of the Lord's Day, must rest very much upon what is our general conception of the Sabbath. If we turn to the Old Testament scriptures and strive to learn what was the Jewish idea, we find even at the time in the life of that nation when moral commands were most stringently enforced, that the day was essentially one of rest and enjoyment. As summed up by one writer, "Suffice it to reiterate that in every class, every age, and every variety of Jews from first to last, the Sabbath has been absolutely a day of joy and happiness, nay of dancing, of singing, of eating and drinking, and of luxury." As we look down the pages of history and observe the varying regulations that have been placed upon the observance of this day, we cannot but think that after the conflicts of successive periods, when times of freedom and also of license have been followed by times of strict puritanic rule, we have to-day arrived at a position where we inherit a one-sided feeling in reference to the Lord's Day. Its very name proclaims that it is not of this world according to the ordinary conception. There is commonly held to be one law for the week day, another for the Sabbath, reflected in many very homely restrictions. Hebraistic as Matthew Arnold might term the Jewish Sabbath, yet we have no conception of it as they had, namely, a day which allowed for them the expression of the

fullness of their life. We look upon it as a day rather restrictive of the freedom of life. Ours is too much a negative conception. When we can be recalled to the more noble idea that all which goes to make a man in the best sense, literature, science, art, work, amusement and worship, are, in the whole what constitute for him the highest religion, we shall not be so ready to seek at the hands of the legislature cast iron rules for Sunday observance.

But many good men look with alarm upon the change in the condition of communities as they pass to other points of view. Some would look with misgiving upon the ideal presented by Bosanquet, in one of his essays, where in reference to Sunday he says: "I should like to see grow up a tradition of family re-union (which is impossible for the working class on a day when many kinds of labor go on), of the simpler kinds of social re-union, of healthy country recreation, of occupation with art, music, and literature and with the beauties of nature." There can, of course, be no two opinions about the question that ordinary employments must cease on the day of rest. On physical grounds alone one day in seven so set apart has been shown over and over again to be most advantageous for the preservation of the race. Moreover, if much ordinary work were allowed to go on it would result that all might eventually be following some occupation in the pursuit of gain. Hence the necessity and wisdom of having an act governing the ordinary occupations of labor. But many of the present day movements to place further restraint seem rather unwisely conceived. Looking at the question from all sides it seems to me more and more apparent that the legislation against the running of Sunday cars is a movement in restraint of moral progress. Let us allow the cars to run and no doubt those who are shut up in the lanes of the city would, in the fields and parks and outlying villages, find a new freedom. At first very likely this freedom would tend to degenerate into license. But would not this license be a more open form of much of the vice that is secretly practised in the darker haunts of the city? It is further true that the attempt to do wrong openly is the only real condition for destroying the wrong altogether. The vicious in this way allow the law to operate against them in its proper manner. This wholesome restraint together with the influence of new associations and new scenes

in the more open life of the day must necessarily have a considerable effect in offering to the minds of such people the notion of a better life. On this ground alone even in comparatively small cities is the service justified. It may be said that our cities in Ontario at least are too small in area and too few in population to warrant this view. But on the other hand they are rapidly growing, and must of necessity accumulate each its 'submerged tenth'. If then a car service on Sunday is to be looked upon as a means for the alleviation of slum difficulties, legislation such as that constantly proposed in this respect could hardly be considered as in keeping with advancing morality. An objection is raised that by the employment of the cars on this day some are deprived of their legitimate rest ; but the amusement or recreation of the many is worth the labor of the few, provided the occupation is freely chosen. And such labor is not compulsory, since the relay system employed by the Car Companies allows to all employees sufficient opportunity for rest, recreation and improvement if they are so inclined.

Legislation therefore, touching the observance of the Sabbath has its proper place, I conceive, in this that it is wise and right so long as it seeks to enforce a rest day which shall be free from the commercial spirit. Moreover, it will not be out of place in preventing amusements, which are offered to the public with a view to the making of money, or amusements which in the life of to-day seem to be inevitably connected with reprehensible practices. Sunday amusements because they are religiously wrong is a ground of legislative prohibition, which as Mill says, "can never be too earnestly protested against"; and he further remarks quite aptly that the notion fixing it as one man's duty to be careful that his fellow should be religious, has paved the way for the distressing persecutions of the past.

Let us look for a moment at our system of colonization roads, and our profuse railway network. It is the boast of the Ontario Government, that since 1872 they have expended over two and three quarters of millions of dollars in the development of the Province by roads and railways. The argument is advanced that the money appropriated for this work is a return of surplus revenue to the people. The Government "Record" declares that, "it is not merely a wise policy to use a portion of

that revenue to develop the country, but a just policy to use it in alleviating the inevitable hardships of backwoods settlement, and frontier life." Now no doubt, much of the money has been necessarily spent in this manner, but it yet remains true that it would have been a wiser policy to have allowed a large portion to remain in the public treasury. A brief excursion through some of the rougher sections of the Province, is sufficient to convince the traveller that roads have been opened and bonused where they never should have gone. Now that lumbering operations in these districts are a thing of the past, the settler is back among the desolate hills in a country that can never yield more than a miserable living. His moral condition is in keeping with his physical surroundings, and in many places gross forms of religious excitement provide for him a course spiritual ideal. He must through several generations act as a barrier to the introduction and spread of the better forms of refinement, while in some struggling and obscure fashion he endeavors to learn some idea of the world 'out front'. Surely the money which has been appropriated to open sections for settlement which do not warrant habitation in the civilized sense, would be far better expended in direct aid to men who might be encouraged to remove to the fertile lands of the West, in place of the objectionable emigrants that we so often find dumped upon our shores. So long as members of Parliament are called upon to obtain special favors for their own constituents in this way, just so long will we witness examples of unwise policy. I have mentioned here only our road and railway legislation, but many other features of our law making might furnish examples of questionable policy. A wiser spirit on the part of those who make our laws and strive to develop the country, might lay the foundation for a stronger and more sturdy morality. We must rid ourselves of the idea of definite accomplishment, that looks no farther than the creation simply of certain economic conditions regardless of the moral consequences. In speaking of our reckless railway expenditure in the Dominion, Mr. Willison in a paper offered some months ago before the Canadian Institute, makes a statement quite applicable here, that "the best service we can do for Canada is to introduce into our public controversies and to incorporate into our code of laws the prudence, the sanity, the steadiness of the

British Political temper, and the sober courage and inflexible justice of British Legislation."

And now what are we to conclude? In the first place, let us rid ourselves of the idea that society is a mechanism that can be patched up first on this side and then on the other by some magic movement of the legislative regulator. We must learn at the outset that society is composed of living conscious members that will not be driven in any particular direction by the legislative whip. We must work the other way, with open and free liberty of action and discussion. The wise course for the reformer is to raise and teach the individual by example, and regularly perhaps, by precept when used with care and discretion. The mind of the teacher himself must be open to the influence of wise ideas no matter from what source they come, And he must ever continue to remember that the best and most lasting benefits to be derived from all work, religious and otherwise, are those wrought out by the slow and careful training of the individual life. Even though definite results are not seen let it not discourage. For it must be complete satisfaction to observe that progress is being constantly attained and that the ideal, while ever more eagerly sought for is as constantly keeping far in advance. In the attempt to use the Legislative power for promoting morality, let it be taken for a generally true maxim, that "the law is only a memorandum" and a very limited kind of human agency. Its true relation to morality is to promote by endorsement and not by aggressively attempting to enforce moral observances. It is for our public men to rise in every respect to the position of the Aristocracy of Talent which will seek before endeavoring to pass a law to have it rest broadly and deeply upon the whole life of the nation—not sectional, not selfish, not the outcome of pressure from a group of railway magnates, nor on the other hand from the Women's Christian Temperance Union. True morality must grow up silently in the life and homes of the people. Caught up from every source will come the groundwork for a strong and sturdy legislation that shall find its true ratification in the wholesome moral sentiments out of which it has grown. Let it be further remembered that the spirit of definite accomplishment, as I have used the term, cannot provide us with true and lasting social benefits. And further

that it is for all men, the social reformer included, to learn the full meaning of this profound truth so beautifully expressed in " Rabbi Ben Ezra," that aspiration and not achievement divides men from brutes.

" Not on the vulgar mass
Called ' work ' must sentence pass
Things done that took the eye and had the price."

Ottawa, Ont.

ANDREW HAYDON.

THE HYMNS OF THE HEBREWS.

THE Psalter was the Hebrew Hymn-Book. In the Hebrew text it is divided into five books, the first containing psalms i-xli, the second xlii-lxxii, the third lxxiii-lxxxix, the fourth xc-cvi, the fifth cvii-cl. This article deals only with the fourth book, beginning with psalm xc, and ending with cvi. A first characteristic to be noticed is that it is entirely Jehovistic : that is, Jehovah (Yaweh) is the name of God used throughout. And that fact, so far, lends some support to unity of time and thought in the structure of the book. The time probably extends from the early exile to the late restoration, roughly speaking, from 596 to 400 B.C. And while one or two psalms may be older than that time, the remainder must have been written not long before the book was compiled for liturgical use.

At the outset, however, it is only proper to say how extremely difficult it is to assign exact dates and suitable historical setting to the psalms. A little ingenuity can fit almost any of them into any period of the history of Israel. The conservative critics who support an early date differ widely among themselves, and so also do the critics of the liberal school who favor a late date. Nor is there anything surprising in this. When it is remembered that there is little, if any, external evidence to guide us, and that we cannot be certain whether a psalm is individualistic, or national, or both, and when it is remembered also that the sentiment of a psalm may differ widely from the better known historical temper of its own time, it will be readily seen how far the date must rest on conjecture. If we had nothing but internal evidence to guide us, who could confidently assign the great hymn of

Bernard of Clairvaux, "O sacred head once wounded," or the equally great hymn of his namesake and contemporary of Clugny, "Jerusalem the golden,"—who could confidently assign them to one of the most troubled and tempestuous periods of the middle ages? The popes of the time from Innocent II. to Eugenius III. were in deadly grapple for pre-eminence with the great secular princes of Europe. Some of them like Paschal II. were so wicked as to be disowned by their own clergy. Besides, for part of the time there were rival popes hurling anathemas and excommunications at one another. Or again, who, reading the *Imitatio Christi* of A' Kempis, and judging the character of its own age by the beautiful spirit of that book, would imagine that a contemporary pope perished by poison at the hands of his enemies? or that the sale of indulgences was becoming the religious scandal of Christendom? or that there were two popes in deadly rivalry for the triple crown? or that John Huss of Bohemia and Jerome of Prague were burned alive at the stake for preaching a pure Gospel? It is, therefore, not safe to be dogmatic in assigning date and circumstance to psalm or hymn or meditation when external evidence is wanting. At the same time, there can be no doubt the historical method is the true way of studying the old praise songs of Israel. Conclusions will be approximately correct. And studied in their historical relations, the psalms will be better understood, and found to be more refreshing and comforting than ever to the religious spirit.

As those ancient hymn books were, doubtless, compiled very much as modern hymn-books are, some of the psalms may be much older than the compilation in which they are found. The compiler, or editor, or committee engaged in framing the book would be governed by personal taste, or some poetic, or liturgical principle. And thus an ancient but hitherto unpublished psalm might suit his ends and be inserted in the collection. Not only that, but it might be "doctored" or worked over, words or lines changed, or lines or verses omitted or added, to make the psalm conform to the ruling idea of the compiler, just as is done—some think too often done—in the preparation of modern hymn-books. As a matter of fact we know some of the psalms were subjected to this very process. The last five verses of lvii are the first five verses of cviii; the last eight verses of lx are the remaining verses

of cviii ; lxx is an extract of the last five verses from xl ; verses three and four of c are verses two and seven of xcv. The Festal hymn in 1 Chron. xvi: 7-36 is a late compilation of several songs or portions of songs of an earlier date, among which are verses 1-15 of psalm cv, and fragments of xcvi and cvi. Archaic words also might be left out of an old psalm, just as we sometimes leave them out of an old hymn, and later words substituted. Or a writer of antiquarian taste, just as in our days too, might successfully imitate the spirit and diction of another writer centuries older. In the one case an old psalm with a very few changes might be passed off on the sharpest textual critic as late ; in the other case a clever late imitation might be passed off as old. These introductory remarks are made in support of the statement that the historical setting of the majority of the psalms must be largely a matter of conjecture, and must not be insisted on too confidently.

Now as to book four. The first psalm in the collection is xc, and its date is the most difficult to fix in the book. The views held are two, and are as divergent as can well be, the very early and the very late. According to the first the author was Moses, as tradition has always set forth, and the psalm, it is asserted, fits exactly into the circumstances of that early time. It is surely a great psalm and worthy such an author, and such an age. According to the second view it is a post-exilic psalm, and fits, it is asserted, correctly into the circumstances of that sifting and stirring age, "during or just after that re-organization of the church-people which was completed by Ezra the scribe and Nehemiah the governor"—say, about the middle of the Persian period. And true enough, if that period be examined, and the reflections of its thoughtful minds imagined, it will be admitted that the sentiment and grandeur of the ninetieth psalm find a most fitting environment. The generations of a thousand years, with their glory and their decay, their pride and their humiliation, their sins and sorrows and repentance, their banishment and return, their reviving hopes and spiritualised outlook—the generations of a thousand years have come and gone and give point enough to the words of the psalmist : "Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations." Internal evidence appears to favor the later date. Seventy or eighty years are mentioned as the span of human life ; but Moses

himself was 120 when he died, Joshua 110, Aaron 123, and Caleb also must have lived beyond the 100 although we have no account of his death. Why should a Mosaic psalm be out of reckoning so much as 53 years in giving the length of human life? That one item of internal discrepancy militates somewhat against the Mosaic authorship.

A more important question arises: Why was so noble a psalm omitted from the earlier books of the Psalter? How did so splendid a composition escape previous collectors and editors? Moses was venerated as no other name in Israel, and it is natural to imagine the avidity with which anything connected with his name, oral or written, would be sought and cherished and pressed into the religious and national services of the people. Between his day and the downfall of Israel and Judah, writings of this description were not so plentiful that the psalm, if it existed, could have escaped the notice of the men who made the earlier collections of Hebrew literature. On the other hand, it fits, as to sentiment, admirably into the later time. If this date be accepted, the study of contemporary writings becomes instructive and helpful in the understanding of the psalm, and the application of its lessons. During that period, Haggai, Zechariah, Ruth, Jonah, Job and Ecclesiastes were written. What light do these scriptures and the psalm throw on each other? The question is not unimportant. The psalm is a free review of circumstances of trial and anxiety, and also an anticipation of a brighter and happier coming time.

“Oh satisfy us early with thy mercy ;
That we may rejoice and be glad all our days.
Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us ;
And establish Thou the work of our hands upon us ;
Yea the work of our hands establish thou it.”

1. As to the other psalms of this book there is not so much dispute. They are divisible into four groups ; those of the early exile, those of the late exile, those of the early restoration, those of the late restoration. The ninety-fourth is the only representative of the first group, and most clearly does it voice the experience and feeling of the early exile. The heart torn away from home and temple, and sorely smarting under the raw memory of cruel and bitter wrongs, gives free expression to its pain and resentment.

Its own sufferings and the arrogance and godlessness of the oppressor excite its rage and its cry is for vengeance :

"Oh Lord, Thou God to whom vengeance belongeth,
To whom vengeance belongeth, shine forth.
Lift up Thyself, Thou judge of the earth :
Render to the proud their desert."

.

They prate, they speak arrogantly ;

.

They break in pieces Thy people, O Lord,
And afflict Thine heritage,
And they slay the widow and the stranger,
And murder the fatherless.

.

My God shall cut them off in their own evil ;
The Lord our God shall cut them off."

It will be interesting to read the psalm in the light of contemporary writings like Jeremiah li-iii, Habakkuk, Nahum, Lamentations, and the last chapters of Kings.

2. Psalms xci and cii represent the second group and belong to the later exile. It will be better to consider cii first, because in feeling and outlook it is midway between xciv and xci. It is the prayer of an afflicted, and yet strong and hopeful man. Though smitten with a great sorrow he bravely holds up his head, and expects to live to see the favor of God again upon Jerusalem. The back has become somewhat inured to the burden. There are glimmerings, though as yet vague and indistinct, of the advent of better things. He speaks of the "set-time" as "come" for delivering Zion, and he closes with something of the ring of the ninetieth. The heavens and the foundations of the earth may pass away, but Jehovah endures :

"Thou art the same,
And Thy years shall have no end.
The children of Thy servants shall continue,
And their seed shall be established before Thee."

As has been already said cii occupies mid-ground between xciv and xci. Now as we take up xci we are still in the later exile, but meet with a new note of feeling and hope. In all the Psalter there is nothing richer or higher in chastened, ripened religious spirit than this, nothing calmer in its consciousness of

God's presence and righteousness, nothing that shows a stronger faith. Here we see the best fruits of the discipline the exile administered to Israel. It compelled that heart-searching which spiritualized their faith, and destroyed forever their old leaning to idolatry :

“He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most high
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty,
I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress ;
My God in whom I trust.”

Or as this candor is expressed in another psalm (cxxxix) of the same period :

“Search me O God, and know my heart,
Try me and know my thoughts ;
And see if there be any wickedness in me,
And lead me in the way everlasting.”

Unclouded brightness is beginning to shine, the foretokening of better days, and we feel as we read this psalm that we are on the verge of a new era. Judah fell under the assault of Babylon ; and after a brief but extraordinarily brilliant career, Babylon herself is about to fall. Her vastness, and huge unmanageable colonial policy which swept under her standards hordes of unassimilable peoples became her ruin. Of those conquered peoples the Jews are for the moment the centre of interest, more particularly, as we now find, when the great Babylonian monarchy is tottering to its fall, the glowing visions of an Ezekiel and second Isaiah directing the mind of the exiles to a restored nation-hood and worship, and to the spiritual kingdom which should grow up around the suffering servant of Jehovah. “As the righteous part of the nation came to see that, somehow, it was being shaped by a Divinity (rough-hewed as were its own purposes), and that through this carving, though painful, there was wrought out the nation's future glory, there came in a new doctrine of vicarious suffering.” God might bring even the righteous “remnant” to prison and to judgment, give it a grave with the wicked amidst the wealth of Babylon, lay on it the iniquity of all the nation which had gone astray like sheep, cut it off from the land of the living, leaving no record of its suffering, and no generation to be traced to its lineage—yet it would see of the travail of its soul and be satisfied. This had hitherto been

true, and forever would remain true of leadership and revival; but in the later history of Israel it found culminating expression in Jesus the Son of God (the offspring of a Jewish mother), who acknowledged the typology of the Babylonian Isaiah and the Babylonian psalmists, by applying to Himself in His darkest hours some of the words wrung from the bleeding hearts of God's people in the darkest days of their national and spiritual bereavement. Such was part at least of the contribution made by the exile to the better life of the world. "There was the winnowing fan, but the spiritual germ survived while the chaff perished. There was the melting pot, but the fine gold of the nation emerged tried as by fire."

Before the exile, indeed, the process had begun. The Babylonian cloud was seen gathering, and men like Jeremiah and Josiah (620) tried to avert, at least to mitigate the crisis by gathering together in a code the wholesome laws and splendid traditions of the people, and showing how much they had to cherish and protect, and how much stronger and purer their life should be. After the blow had fallen and the flower of the nation had been carried into exile, the work of collecting their laws and histories and religious songs continued, and became indeed more important than ever, since during the first cruel experience of the exile, the struggle was to protect themselves from religious and racial extinction. It was then, that men like Ezekiel, and some unknown psalmists, men of deathless patriotism and spiritual fervor, kept alive the instincts of race and religious feeling by their imposing prophetic symbolism and their heart-felt songs. It was then that histories began to be written and edited in serious earnest, and psalms to be composed with a purpose, and gathered into books. And it was then also that the impulse was given which should, in the approaching restoration, whose signs were already becoming visible, result in the collection and publication of the Old Testament writings, in large part, as we now have them.

3. Of the third group, the early restoration psalms, there is but one, xcii, in book four. As between the psalms of the earlier and later exile no sharp line can be drawn, so none can be drawn between those of the earlier and later restoration. We have to be guided by the internal notes of time and place, the per-

sonal and liturgical accent, and the historical affinities they reveal. In the first class, the enthusiasm of the new era might be expected to be dominant, as also the fresh, creative spontaneity which belongs to a growing time. And if the last twenty seven chapters of Isaiah date from the later exile and earlier restoration, and if there are exilic and restoration psalms, however wide apart the genius and outlook of prophet and psalmists, there ought to be very manifest points of resemblance between them. And doubtless there are. The comparison will prove interesting to such as undertake it.

Later, the enthusiasm of the restoration declined, because of the reaction which inevitably follows the high, strained pitch of initiation, and the partial disappointment which is inseparable from large human expectation. At the very best, things could not happen quite as they were expected. The decline, however, is not very apparent in any of the later psalms of book four, but it is in other late portions of the Psalter, and in Malachi iii : 14-15 : "Ye have said, It is vain to serve God ; and what profit is it that we have kept His charge, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of Hosts ? And now we call the proud happy ; yea, they that work wickedness are built up ; yea, they that tempt God, are delivered." The first joy of the restoration was too exhilarating and exhausting to last. The new freedom was enchanting, but they could not always sing to the high pitch of this psalm :

" When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion
We were like men that dream.
Then was our mouth filled with laughter
And our tongue with singing :
The Lord hath done great things for us ;
Whereof we are glad." (cxxvi).

The country had been harried by repeated invasion, now by one foe and now by another, and half turned into a desert. And the people could not live on religious ecstasy alone. Sacrifice became a costly burden, fervor grew cold, and then blemished things were offered to Jehovah. "Ye profane my name, saith the Lord of Hosts, in that ye say, the table of the Lord is polluted, and the fruit thereof, even His meat is contemptible. Ye say also, Behold, what a weariness is it ! And ye have brought that

which was taken by violence, and the lame, and the sick; thus ye bring the offering." (Mal. i). The people grew weary; gradually the worship became more formal, and the new psalms, when the real inspiration failed, were dull and artificial. And the psalms are no exception to the great general law; the creative time is ever followed by the imitative and artificial. The ninety-second has a strong personal and liturgical element. The speaker is represented as filled with a great joy, the joy of a green old age spared to see marvellous things unlooked for. The image of the first temple seems to linger in his memory, and now in his closing years his eye rests with unmixed contentment and complacency on the restored temple:

"It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord,
And to sing praises unto Thy name, O Most High.
For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy work.
The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree:
He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon."

A comparison of this psalm with Isaiah li-lij, Haggai, and Zechariah i-viii will prove both interesting and instructive.

4. Coming to the fourth group, it is represented by psalms xciii, xcv-ci, ciii-cvi, all of the later restoration. The contemporary writings are Malachi and Joel. In xciii the Davidic throne has faded out of sight, and Jehovah is enthroned instead. The infiltration of new spiritual ideas is quite apparent. Man and nature are called upon to acknowledge the sovereignty of Jehovah. And xcv-ci, also are couched in the same high, sublime vein of invocation to Jehovah. The restoration has come. The temple is again open. The singers rest their eyes on their own fair land. Their hearts are full. The heavens and the earth appear to be in sympathy with their pious and happy mood, and they summon all peoples and the whole earth to join in their praises to Jehovah. Here the spirit of the Babylonian Isaiah is gloriously reproduced. Has any hymn ever transcended psalm xcv as an expression of joyous public worship? or the hundredth as a glorious jubilate, full of hope and joy and sublime spirituality? Space is not left to characterize at any length the remaining psalms of this group. In ciii, civ we have reflective psalms of the inner and outer world respectively, and cv, cvi are historical retrospects such as reflective, thankful writers might well produce under the stimulus

of the return and the revival associated with the second temple.

This article may fittingly close with a few words on the value of the study of Hebrew poetry in giving us a clear, well-balanced picture of the real life of that wonderful people. The histories, if we except Daniel, are as a rule, a bare recital of facts with little attention given to things in their relations. The origin and interaction of great movements are not traced out. The reader is left to apply for himself the laws of the historical imagination, to read between the lines, and to become in that way acquainted with much of the thought and life of the people. But notwithstanding this general baldness of narration, great and incomparable is the skill of some of the Biblical writers in the stories of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Jonah, the Gospels, Acts and other scriptures. They never need to stand out in front of the canvas on which they have thrown the outline and say, this, and this, and this is what we mean. What they mean is perfectly obvious without that—which is the consummation of the story-telling art, and of which we have two unique examples in Jonah and the Acts.

Again, the prophets were the stern, ethical teachers of their time, and just because they were, of necessity they did not see the whole life of the people. Their rebuke of sin and apostasy, their appeal for righteousness, their invocation of Jehovah, their prediction of judgment on a stiff-necked, unrepentant people were all true; but there was another side to the picture, and on that they did not look. They fell, as it has been said, into the exaggeration of one-sidedness as all preachers of repentance are in danger of doing; as Luther and Knox did sometimes. It was not the exaggeration of over-magnifying the evil of sin in the individual or the community, but the exaggeration of not seeing in due proportion the good as well as the evil of their day, the sunshine as well as the shadows of life. Possibly they had not time, nor indeed was it their business. It is the man of single aim who deals the telling, shattering blows. "One thing" the prophet did. Throughout Israel's history one discerns a steady progress, and that is only another way of saying there were again and again grave mistakes committed; for it is profoundly true that "man errs as long as he strives," and yet not to strive is the direst error of all. Now this progress is apparent not so much

in the orations of the prophets as in the proverbs and poetry of the people. The prophets and lawgivers were the great formative forces of the nation; the sages and psalmists were excellent representatives of the progress made. They were more than that. Sometimes they expressed life better than the prophets, just as modern poets sometimes describe life, and voice the aspirations and ideals of the soul better than philosophers and statesmen, and they did so because they wrought under no unyielding law or convention, but allowed themselves to be carried away by the emotion of lofty spiritual ideas beyond the level which contemporary life had reached.

The prophets painted the darker side of the nation's life as was inevitable because of their office. Whenever they touched things with a lighter hand, it was either to recall the ancient glories, or sound forth the greater glories yet to be. Of the not uncommon happiness and optimism of contemporary life they said but little. That brighter, sunnier side is however finely brought to light in the leisurely aggregations of the proverbs, in so many of the psalms, and even in such apparently sombre books as Job and Ecclesiastes. These writings, especially the religious songs, tell us much about the sweet, happy, free religious life that prevailed in the midst of very troubled times, and that otherwise would have remained unknown. And this is not without its modern parallel. In the darkest days of mediæval Rome most noble hymns and meditations were written, showing that there always was a pure Church, a holy "remnant," and such writings remain with us amongst the noblest literature, the most cherished treasures of the Church's faith. So in Israel there was for many a day, in spite of obstacles and calamities not exceeded in the history of any people, a rich and deep religious spirit amongst others than the prophets and their schools, and many of the psalms are the unanswerable proof of it. In all the Hebrew scriptures there is not another book that has so rich a history as the Psalter, or that is more profitable to the religious student. "No other collection of religious poetry in the world has ever exercised so deep an influence, consoled so many sufferers, given strength for so many conflicts, and given words to the inmost thoughts of so many pious hearts." The prophetic orations are couched in terms of national compass; the prophets lived for

others, and that was, and is still the very heart of religion. On the other hand the psalms, while often national enough in spirit, give utterance in the main to purely subjective feelings, expressive of personal relation to God, of sorrow for personal sins, of joy in the victory over personal temptation, of the hope of eternal life. It is this personal element which gives the psalmists precedence in the Christian heart over the prophets, and makes the Psalter the greatest manual of devotion in the Christian world.

There is another fact of profound interest in the history of religious thought brought home to us in the later psalms. Already it has been shown that in some of them like xciii the Davidic throne is fading out of sight, and the throne of Jehovah is becoming visible instead; but a further change in the spiritual outlook of the people is indicated by these psalms, the change from Mosaism to Judaism. "Mosaism was the calling forth of a nation to bear witness to the Eternal, and necessarily implied a promise of external and manifest strength to the nation thus unified." That promise did not pass on to later Israel. It was buried forever in the national ruin that resulted from the exile. And men began to see more clearly than perhaps Zechariah himself saw the significance of his words; "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." (iv:6). For a time the transition movement was certainly one of contraction, both as to national aspiration and inward point of view, yet was it a preparation also for infinite expansion. Soon after the restoration it must have been quite obvious to observant minds that the days of the old national Israel were numbered. Their condition under the Persian and early Greek supremacy was in many respects not only supportable but prosperous; still were they a subject people. And as they saw, not so long after the return, the Greek colossus rising in the West, and the inevitable Græco-Persian conflict approaching, they could expect for the future no larger liberty or influence than they were already enjoying. In the chances of war and conquest and new masters they could look for no improvement in their condition. In these circumstances the idea of the "remnant" began to settle down in their minds, and soften for them the sharp pain and humiliation it used to bring, and it began to dawn upon them that the "remnant" was to be the seed of a new dispensation. After all,

as the more discerning minds began to learn in the experience of repeated and crushing calamity, to be a glorious nation was not the destiny divinely planned for Israel. To some natures this was so overwhelming a disappointment that it made shipwreck of their faith, to some it resulted in a narrow and exclusive fanaticism, but to others it was the incoming of the new life fulfilling the old, and finding through them suitable expression in a profound, deep sense of trust at once social and individual, such as we see in the best of the later psalms. Mosaism as a spiritual force had disappeared and Judaism had come. Kittel closes his History of the Hebrews with the fall of Jerusalem. Thenceforward the history of that people is the history of Judaism. The blossom and fruit of the old and the new together we have in the psalms, the latest phase of Hebrew literature and the essence of the religious lessons of vast national calamity and disappointing restoration. Not an Edenic transformation such as was painted in the visions of the second Isaiah, nor a glorious ecclesiastical Jerusalem such as was dreamed by Ezekiel, nor a triumphant national independence as the more secular, worldly-minded contemporaries of the psalmists must have expected; no such things: only a sifted "remnant," a spiritual heir to promises which deepen and expand as they pass on to higher spiritual ground, and which, in spite of seasons of terrible spiritual sterility as the centuries come and go, prepare the world for Jesus Christ.

M. MACGILLIVRAY.

PHILO AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

IT is proposed to enquire how far, if at all, the method of Philo and his ideas can be said to have influenced the New Testament. Both of these questions are surrounded with difficulty. Philo is not a pure philosopher of the type of Plato and Aristotle : he does not attempt to construct a system of thought on the basis of reason, but starts from certain preconceptions, which determine the character of his thought. Nor has he elaborated a philosophical system of his own, after a critical investigation of the doctrines of his predecessors, but has taken from them whatever ideas seemed to fit in with his general conception of things. The result is that he presents us with an eclectic philosophy, which rather contains a number of suggestions that, after much critical labour, might be developed into a system, than what can be called a philosophy. It might, perhaps, be said that Philo, in thus sitting loose to any hard and fast system, is only exhibiting the true philosophical temper, which refuses to admit that any given doctrine sums up the whole body of truth, and that he is to be commended, instead of condemned, for his contempt of system-mongering. The defence seems to me to be based upon a misunderstanding of the true function of philosophy. If we compare the method of Philo with one of the great masters of speculation, we shall see that his eclecticism is a mark, not of strength, but of weakness. Aristotle, for example, everywhere shows an accurate acquaintance with the thought of his predecessors and contemporaries. It is his custom to begin the discussion of any topic by citing the current views in regard to it, and then going on to consider the doctrines of the philosophers. This method he follows under the conviction that no belief has been held by man that does not contain some rational element which has commended it to the minds of those who held it. But Aristotle is also convinced that those views are only partial aspects of a more comprehensive truth ; and therefore he makes it his main point to discover what that truth is. This is not the method of

*A pamphlet containing *Extracts from Philo*, may be had from

R. UGLOW & Co., Kingston.

Philo. He starts with the assumption that Moses, whom he assumes to have been the author of the Pentateuch, was the possessor of all truth ; and, under this preconception, he proceeds to find in the words of Moses whatever truth he seems to have discovered from any source. The result of course is that he is forced to read into scripture a meaning which it does not possess, so that its plain and simple sense is overlaid with the ideas of his own time. Similarly, he reads the Greek philosophers, not with the object of finding out what they really meant, or of discovering the element of truth which they had got hold of, but as witnesses for ideas which belonged to the age in which he lived. Thus, Philo never comes into direct contact with the minds of sacred or profane writers, but approaches them with *a priori* conceptions of what they ought to have said. Of course this criticism is not meant as a charge against Philo : he was simply following the method of his time, and could do no otherwise ; but, in attempting to determine his personal value and influence, we have to bear in mind the character of his mind and the limitation of his age. Especially, in attempting to estimate his influence upon Christian thought, we must have a perfectly clear idea of the fundamental defect of his method. Christian writers of the early centuries borrowed the method of Philo, and even in our own day there are theologians who have not shaken off its influence.

When we come to enquire whether Philo has influenced the writers of the New Testament, a problem of great difficulty immediately presents itself. The influence of one writer upon another cannot be directly inferred from the use of common terms, or a similarity of ideas or expressions. For, two writers may be entirely independent of each other, and may yet express themselves in an almost identical way. There are terms and ideas which belong to the atmosphere of an age ; they have come, no one knows whence, and have become the symbols of current ideas. We do not, for example, prove that the writer of the fourth Gospel borrowed from Philo, because both speak of the *Λόγος* as a manifestation of God. We are safe in saying that the term belonged to the age, but not that the one writer borrowed from the other. Fortunately, the question is of less importance than some writers seem to imagine. Suppose it were proved

that St. John adopted the term *Λόγος* from Philo, and was even influenced by Philo's doctrine of the *Λόγος*, the main point is whether both writers attach the same meaning to the term. As we shall see, this is by no means the case; and, though historical curiosity would fain be satisfied, in the development of ideas the question is of very subordinate interest. No one will now maintain that the truth of the *Λόγος* doctrine as held by St. John is dependent upon the writer not having been influenced by Philo; for, however he may have been influenced, he employed it to formulate a new idea, which came into the world only with Christianity.

I have mentioned two difficulties which confront any one who seeks to explain the doctrine of Philo and to estimate his influence. There is another difficulty, which arises from the general character of human progress. Philo presupposes two independent lines of development, the Jewish and the Greek. He is thus connected, on the one hand with Jewish, and on the other hand with Greek thought, and it is impossible to understand him fully without some reference to both. Now, it is obviously impossible to treat fully of either; and the most that I can pretend to do is to indicate, as we proceed, the relation of particular ideas to these two lines of development. Without more preamble, I shall attempt to convey some idea of part of Philo's *De opificio mundi*, as the handiest way of getting an insight into the circle of ideas within which this expositor of Hellenistic Judaism lived and moved.

Philo begins his treatise on the Creation of the World by drawing a strong contrast between Moses and other legislators. The first thing to be observed is Philo's belief that the Mosaic writings contain a complete revelation of God, and are absolutely true even in the most minute particular. The Law of Moses is therefore unchangeable and eternal, and will remain as long as the sun and moon and the universe lasts. Nor is it merely the Hebrew scriptures which are thus inspired, but the same authority attaches to the Septuagint. No scribe of the strictest sect of the Pharisees had a more implicit faith than Philo in the inspiration of every word and even letter of Scripture.

Since the Mosaic writings, on his view, contain a final revelation of the nature of God and His relation to the world, it fol-

lows that they contain all truth, and hence that whatever is true can be extracted from a careful consideration of what they affirm. The distinction between religious and scientific truth, which many liberal theologians now make, was one which did not occur to Philo, and which, if it had been presented to him, he would have summarily rejected as impious. As the passage just referred to shows, it is just the "philosophical" character of the Mosaic writings which constitutes their superiority to all other writings. For Philo the Pentateuch is not merely an expression of the religious consciousness, but a philosophical system, in which each part is set forth with a view to the other parts; in other words, the Bible is not merely a record of religious experience, but a theology. In Philo's hands, in fact, it becomes almost entirely a theology, even the narrative parts being regarded as part of a system of general conceptions. With this method of dealing with scripture we are only too familiar, and it was mainly through Philo's example and influence that it became the favourite method of Christian writers, and has survived down to our own day.

The first class of legislators contrasted with Moses are those who simply state ethical principles without showing the basis upon which they depend. We may express Philo's meaning by saying that morality must be based upon religion. When moral precepts are laid down without being shown to flow from the relation of God to the world, and especially to man, it is not seen that the rational nature of man demands something more than external commands. It is for this reason, he holds, that Moses begins by revealing the nature of God, and thus prepares the minds of men for a joyous obedience to the laws.

The second class of lawgivers are those who do, indeed, attempt to exhibit the divine nature, but distort it by the invention of myths, which give a false idea of God. To Philo a myth is simply a deliberate attempt to impose upon the credulous masses. It is significant that Philo, while he here supposes that he is following his favourite philosopher, Plato, in reality displays a different spirit. To Plato, and even more to Aristotle, a myth was a 'noble lie'; it was the first attempt of the human mind to grasp the divine nature, and though Plato criticises the myths of his country, he is willing to allow that they may be made an

important instrument in the education of the young. Aristotle, again, finds in mythology an implicit philosophy; so that the mythologist, as he says, is in a sense a philosopher. Philo has not this wide range of sympathy. As a Jew he can see in the myths of polytheistic religions nothing but a false representation of the one invisible God. If it is asked how Philo, familiar as he was with the anthropomorphic representation of God found in the Pentateuch was not able to find an element of truth in Greek and Oriental mythologies, the answer is that he spiritualised these sayings, and thus eliminated from them the obnoxious element. He therefore distinguishes between allegory and mythology. He admits that, in the Pentateuch, there are things 'more incredible than myths' (*de Mose* iii. 691); but the incredibility arises from interpreting literally what was meant by the writer to be understood in an allegorical sense. To suppose that God really planted fruit trees in Paradise, when no one was allowed to live there, and when it would be impious to fancy that he required them for himself, is "great and incurable silliness." The reference must, therefore, be to the paradise of virtues, with their appropriate actions, implanted by God in the soul (*De Plan. Noe.* 8. 9.). The objections of cavillers were set aside by a similar process. There were those who sneered at the story of the tower of Babel, and thought it parallel to Homer's tale about Pelion, Ossa and Olympus. "The true interpretation is that which sees in the account a portrayal of the universal nature and course of wickedness." (*De Conf. Linguar.* 1 ff.) This allegorical method of interpretation is so imbedded in the writings of Philo, from whom it spread to the Fathers of the Church, that it may be well to say a few words about it.

The allegorical method was to a certain extent employed in the Palestinian schools, but it had its origin in Greece, and was borrowed by later Græco-Jewish writers. The reverence for antiquity and the belief in inspiration imparted to the writings of the ancient poets a unique value. Thus, Homer became the Bible of the Greek races, and was sometimes regarded as not only inspired but as divine. With the rise of philosophic reflection, Homer was held to contain a full system of philosophy. As new ideas took possession of men's minds, the only method of

reconciliation that seemed satisfactory was to give a symbolical interpretation to passages which offended the moral sense. This method was aided by the concomitant development of the mysteries, in which the history of the gods was represented by symbolical actions. In the 5th century B.C. the allegorical interpretation began to be applied to ancient literature. Thus Hecataeus explained the story of Cerberus by the existence of a poisonous snake found in a cavern on the headland of Tænarum. Anaxagoras found in Homer a symbolical account of the movements of mental powers and moral virtues: Zeus was mind, Athene was art. His disciple Metrodorus treated Homeric stories as a symbolical representation of physical phenomena. "The gods were the powers of nature; their gatherings, their movements, their loves and their battles, were the play and interaction and apparent strife of natural forces."

Now, the same difficulty which had been felt in the Greek world in regard to Homer was felt by the Jews who had studied Greek philosophy in regard to the Pentateuch. Hence, in Philo's time the allegorical method had attained a firm footing among Græco-Jewish writers. In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, it is said that Wisdom, at the time of the Exodus, led the Israelites in a wonderful path, "and became to them a shelter by day and a flame of stars by night." Here the pillar of cloud and of fire is allegorized as Wisdom. The writer, however, does not apply the method to the construction and proof of doctrines. But it was inevitable that a thinker like Philo should follow his favourite writers the Stoics, and interpret the sacred writings in terms of the philosophical doctrines which he had learned from his Greek teachers. In this way he was able to retain his belief in the absolute authority of Moses and at the same time to satisfy his intellect. But Philo lacks the keen insight of Plato and Aristotle, who rejected the symbolic interpretation of the poets, and was entirely unaware that he was reading into the sacred writings ideas that he had brought to them. The allegorical method, though it has obscured the deeper truth of the scriptures for centuries, was not without its value; for in no other way could the essential truth which they contained have been retained by an age that had advanced to a higher stage of development.

Philo, coming to the account of creation contained in Genesis, proceeds to characterise it in terms borrowed from the Platonic philosophy. For Plato the true reality consisted in 'ideas,' which in the *Timæus* he conceives as 'the thoughts of God as they existed in the divine mind before the creation of the world.' This is the aspect of the Platonic ideas upon which Philo naturally fastened, because it best fitted in with his general conception of the transcendence of God and His relation to the visible universe. As we shall immediately see more fully, the world first exists as a connected system of ideas in the divine intelligence, and this system is then impressed upon the visible creation, which Philo conceives as distinct and separate from the system of ideas,—the *κόσμος νοητός* as he usually calls it. We can easily understand how a mind like Philo's, filled with the Jewish conception of God as transcending all finite existence, found in the Platonic conception of archetypal ideas a philosophical expression for the relation between God and the world. The creation he therefore conceived, not as a manifestation of God himself, but as the product of his creative power and wisdom, exhibiting traces of its divine model, in the same way as a building or statue is the outward realisation of ideas previously existing in the mind of the architect or sculptor. It is worthy of remark that, in thus assimilating Jewish and Greek ideas, Philo is unconsciously transforming the distinctively Jewish conception of God. When the creation of the world is assimilated to the product of human art, the conception of God is not that of a Creator, but of a Divine Architect, who fashions a material already existing. That this idea lay at the basis of Philo's thought is proved by the fact that, as we shall see, he regards matter, not as created but as eternal. Now, this is not the Jewish idea of creation; nor can it be legitimately extracted from the Mosaic account. In Genesis the world is conceived to spring into being as a whole at the word of God, and to depend for its continued existence upon his will. What He has summoned into being He may at a word annihilate. Philo, overmastered by the Greek conception of God, not as the *creator*, but as the *former* of the world, is naturally led to read the scriptural account of creation as if it was the account of the fashioning of an ordered world out of a pre-existent material. Thus the Greek

conception triumphs over the Jewish, though of this Philo was entirely unconscious. It is therefore not without significance that he speaks of the 'beauty' (*καλλος*) of the world; for 'beauty,' as conceived by the Greek mind, consisted in the order and harmony presented in visible forms.

This beauty, Philo tells us, cannot be expressed in human language; yet he believes that it was apprehended by Moses, who was directly inspired by God; and, in certain exceptional cases, the vision of the divine nature is permitted to those who attain the state of ecstasy, in which the limitations of the ordinary consciousness are transcended. This higher vision of God is indeed the goal of wisdom, which may be attained by those who love God. In a sense, therefore, Philo claimed that inspiration is possible for all men. "Every good and wise man has the gift of prophecy, while it is impossible for the wicked man to become an interpreter of God," and he tells us that sometimes "a more solemn word" spoke from his own soul, and he ventured to write down what it said to him. "I am not ashamed," he says, "to relate the way in which I am myself affected, which I know I have experienced countless times. Intending sometimes to come to my usual occupation of writing the doctrines of philosophy, and having seen exactly what I ought to compose, I have found my mind fruitless and barren, and left off without accomplishing anything, reproaching my mind with its self-conceit, and amazed at the power of *Him who is*, by whom it has turned out that the wombs of the soul are opened and closed. But sometimes, having come empty, I suddenly became full, ideas being invisibly showered upon me and planted from above, so that by a divine possession I was filled with enthusiasm, and was absolutely ignorant of the place, of those present, of myself, of what was said, of what was written; for I had a stream of interpretation, an enjoyment of light, a most keen scented vision, a most distinct view of the subjects treated, such as would be given through the eyes from the clearest exhibition of an object." But, while he thus claimed inspiration for all "good men," he "ascribed to the biblical writers, and especially to Moses, a fullness of this divine enthusiasm, and consequent infallibility of utterance, which he claimed for no others." For this reason the Mosaic account of creation is to be accepted with implicit faith,

though it can only be truly understood by one who shares in a measure the vision of God.

Before going on to interpret the Mosaic account of creation, Philo sets aside certain false views which have been held as to the origin of the world.

He rejects the doctrine of the eternity of the world, which was the prevalent view of the Greek poets and philosophers, maintaining that it could neither exist nor continue but for the productive and providential activity of God. We must be careful, however, not to assume that Philo maintains the doctrine of the absolute origination of all things out of nothing. True to his conception of God as the supreme architect of the world, he regards formless matter as uncreated. What he rejects is the doctrine that from all eternity there existed a 'cosmos'—a definitely formed or orderly world, which, indeed was the view of Aristotle. To affirm that the ordered world always existed is, he argues, the same thing as saying that it is independent of God. Such a doctrine therefore denies the 'activity,' and removes the world beyond the 'providence' (*πρόνοια*) of God. The basis of Philo's argument is that the orderly arrangement of the world can only be explained as due to the formative activity of God. Adopting the analogy of a human artificer, he conceives of this active or shaping cause as presupposing an unformed matter upon which it operates. Here, therefore, we have the famous argument from design, which has played so important a part in subsequent theological speculation. It must be said, in favour of Philo, that he has a clearer conception of the argument than some of his Christian successors; he sees that it leads to the idea of God as the supreme architect, not to the conception of a Creator, and therefore he consistently maintains the eternity of matter. On the other hand, he is entirely unconscious that, in thus setting up two opposite principles, he has logically denied the absoluteness of God. For him, God is a Being beyond the world, and complete in himself. How God can be absolute, while yet there exists independently of Him an eternal 'matter' he never seems to have asked. The absoluteness of God he accepted as a religious belief and he conjoins with it the Greek idea of a separate 'matter,' not seeing that the two ideas are mutually exclusive. Coming to the study of scripture with this preconception, he attributes the same

inconsistency to Moses. When he read that "the spirit of God moved upon the water," he interpreted this as meaning that God acted upon unformed matter. The same view had already been suggested in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, where the writer, speaking of the miracles wrought at the time of the Exodus, says that "the whole creation in its own kind was again impressed anew." "This language suggests the comparison of matter to a lump of wax, which is capable of receiving the impression of various seals. Thus the conversion of chaos into cosmos is the author's highest idea of creation." Philo was therefore, in his doctrine of the formation of the world out of a primeval 'matter,' adopting a view which, under the influence of Greek ideas, had probably in his day become a received tenet; and it is quite in accordance with his general want of independence and originality, that he should have accepted it without seeing its incompatibility with his Jewish belief in the absoluteness of God.

Philo has another reason for denying the eternity of the world. If the world is eternal it is self-subsistent; and this is the same as saying that it is not subject to the providence of God,—a doctrine which is subversive of all religion. The visible world is in continual process or genesis, and therefore it cannot be self-subsistent. It is thus presupposed by Philo that eternity and process are mutually incompatible ideas. Accordingly, he draws a strong contrast between the ideal world, which is eternal and unchangeable, and the sensible world which is never the same at two successive moments. Whatever comes into being presupposes that which does not come into being. This is the argument afterwards elaborated as what Kant calls the cosmological argument, or more popularly the argument from the finite and changeable to a first cause. In Philo's hands, it implies an absolute distinction between the ideal and the sensible world; and thus leads to the difficulty how there can be any contact between two realms which are conceived as the opposite of each other. How Philo seeks to bridge the gulf we shall immediately see. Meanwhile, let us consider the manner in which he extracts from the Mosaic account of creation his own doctrine of the separate existence of an ideal or intelligible world.

In his manner of doing so we have an instance of the method by which he imposes upon the text a sense entirely foreign to it. The

plain and simple meaning of the scriptural account of creation is that the world was brought into existence in six natural days. In modern times the futile attempt has been made to show that by "days" was meant "periods of time." This thoroughly false method of exegesis is based upon the same assumption as that which led to Philo's extravagances—the assumption that the cosmology of Genesis must be absolutely true. In our day the difficulty arising from this untenable view has been that it contradicts the established results of science. There is no escape from the quagmire of artificial interpretation except by the frank recognition that the scriptural account is simply a primitive attempt to construct a cosmology, which cannot now be accepted. Nor can we find any satisfactory way out of the difficulty by saying that, while the cosmogony is unsatisfactory as a scientific theory, the conception of God which it reveals to us is beyond cavil. The conception of God contained in the Old Testament is not adequate. If it were, the new revelation of God's nature given in Christianity would be superfluous. The difficulty can only be overcome by the application of the idea of development. The Jewish conception of God is the highest point reached prior to Christianity, but it has been superseded by the fuller conception expressed by our Lord; and it is a serious practical question whether it is justifiable to cover up so palpable a truth by vague phrases about the sublimity of the Hebrew conception of God.

Philo's difficulty did not spring from the discrepancy between his scientific and theological beliefs; for there was nothing in the science of his day to give him pause. His problem was to retain the philosophical conception of God which he had formed by an amalgam of Jewish and Greek ideas. His great difficulty was that the scriptural account of creation seemed to be infected with an untenable anthropomorphism. It represented God, after the manner of man, as limited by time, and passing in succession from one form of activity to another. This conception, as he thought, cannot be admitted, and therefore it cannot be what Moses meant. God is not such a one as ourselves: He does all things at once: there is no interval between his purpose to create, and the actual creation; He does not first, as we do, frame a conception of what he will do, and then pro-

ceed to realise it in successive stages, but by his mere thought the world is formed, and formed as a whole. The act of creation is therefore independent of time. What, then, is meant by saying that the world was made in six days? By this we are to understand, not that the heavens were first created, but that the heavens are in the order of excellence the highest of all created things. The world as a whole is a 'cosmos'—an ordered or organic system—in which each part, though in itself imperfect, contributes to the perfection of the whole. Now, Moses cannot have declared that the world was made in *six* days, without a deliberate purpose. Why *six* rather than any other number? Here Philo makes use of the Pythagorean doctrine of numbers, which in his day had again come into vogue by the influence of the Neo-Pythagoreans. According to them the number 6 has a productive or vital power, (*ψύχωσις*) being the product of 3, a male number, and of 2 a female number; and it is a 'perfect' number, because it is the sum of its factors: $1+2+3=6$.

In the passage following we have a good instance of the manner in which Philo imposes upon the words of scripture a philosophical doctrine which was suggested to him by Plato. What we find in Genesis is the simple statement: "God called the light day, and the darkness he called night; and there was evening and there was morning, one day (*ἡμέρα μία*)."

But Philo is determined to find in scripture the distinction between the ideal and the sensible world, and therefore he fastens upon the words 'one day,' interpreting them as indicating, not the first day of the creation of the visible universe, but the unity of the ideal world. Besides 'one' is the 'ideal' number, the prototype of all other numbers, but occupying a unique place. Further, Genesis speaks of the earth as 'invisible and unformed' (*ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασχεύαστος*), which Philo takes to mean the ideal earth, as existing prior to the visible earth, i.e., as one of the ideas constituting the 'ideal world' (*κόσμος νοητός*). Who then, in the face of such strong evidence, could doubt that Moses, in his account of the first day of creation, was speaking of the creation of the ideal world!

The creation of the ideal world, then, was prior to the construction of the visible world. How Philo harmonized this temporal precedence of the ideal to the real with his doctrine, that

time has no existence prior to the origin of the visible universe, he does not tell us; probably he would have said that we can only represent under the form of a temporal succession what is rather an order of dependence. But if he had followed out this line of thought, he must have seen that it was inconsistent with the very idea of a genesis in time of the world. If time begins with the existence of the visible universe, we cannot speak of a time prior to its existence. Philo, however, is not a clear or consistent thinker; and therefore, while he separates the creation of the ideal world from the formation of the sensible world, he speaks of the former as prior to the latter.

The ideal world, which was first created by God, is the pattern or archetype of the sensible world, corresponding part for part with it. This conception is of course borrowed from Plato, who represents the ideas after this manner in the *Timæus*, though he is not unaware that he is using a figure of speech, which must not be too closely pressed. Philo is very little disturbed by such considerations, and seems to have been perfectly satisfied with the analogy to a human artist who frames in his mind a general conception and then proceeds to translate it into a visible shape. Having formed in his mind the ideal world, God employed it as a model after which he constructed the visible world. We have therefore to imagine the unformed matter of the universe as already existing, and the divine Artificer as moulding it into a cosmos, as the sculptor moulds the block of marble. I shall not dwell upon the inadequacy of such a conception. It is enough to say that 'matter,' as an unformed independent substance, is an idea to which no intelligible meaning can be attached; and that modern theology cannot take a single step without getting rid of this phantom.

As the ideal world is beyond and prior to the sensible world, so it has no local habitation. "Just as the idea of a city which he proposes to construct has no existence in space, but is stamped on the soul of the artist, so the ideal world can have no other place than the divine intelligence (*λόγος*), which gives order to the various ideas. For what other place can there be for the divine powers, which is capable of receiving and containing, I do not say all the powers, but any one of them in its purity?"

Still following the analogy of the human artificer and his

work, Philo tells us that the ideal world has no local habitation. It may be that he was opposing the ordinary view of the Jews of his day that heaven had a definite position in some part of the spatial universe; in any case, he maintains that the ideas exist only in the divine mind. These ideas he also calls 'powers,' because they not only exist in the divine mind, but are an expression of the divine self-active reason.

We cannot, therefore, separate the divine powers from the divine ideas, or either from the divine Reason (*λόγος*). The ideas, as we may say, are the eternal forms of God's self-activity. They proceed from God, in the sense that they are the modes which his eternal energy assumes. Philo, however, conceives of the self-active energy of God as existing prior to the formation of the visible world, for it is his view, as we have seen, that the ideal world exists prior to the generation of the sensible world, just as the artist frames a conception of the object which he proposes to bring into visible existence before he constructs it. No doubt Philo repeatedly warns us that we cannot comprehend the inner nature of the ideal world; but this warning is based upon his assumption that God, as absolutely separated from the world, is incomprehensible. Because of this fundamental dualism, nothing was left for him but to take refuge in metaphor and analogy.

The divine 'powers,' of which Philo has previously spoken, constitute in their completeness the divine reason in its infinite perfection. The sensible world, on the other hand, bears the impress, not of the complete nature of God, but only of his goodness. The same thought had already been expressed in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. "The whole world is, in the sight of God, as a weight out of a balance, and as an early drop of dew when it has come down upon the earth." Possessing infinite power to carry out his purposes, God must have acted from love in creating the world, and this love must embrace all that is, for if God had hated anything he would not have made it. The conception of the goodness of God as the motive of creation Philo therefore borrowed from Jewish sources. No doubt Plato speaks of 'the good' as the supreme idea, and identifies it with God; but by 'the good' he means the total rational nature of the Divine Reality, not a limited manifestation of it. In this case, therefore, Philo's Jewish belief has overmastered his Greek training.

The world, then, exhibits the goodness or love of God, but it is not a complete expression of his goodness, much less of his infinite perfection. Apart from the action of God upon it 'matter' would have remained in its original state of chaos,—indeterminate, changeless, lifeless; but, as it is entirely passive, it is capable of being reduced to order, system, and harmony. Thus we can infer from the actual order of the visible universe that a divine formative activity has been applied to it. Nor has God been aided in the work of creation by any but himself, for indeed prior to the creation there was no other. (This shows that, although Philo sometimes personifies the Logos, he conceived it as inseparable from God). The love of God is infinite, but the finite is unable to receive all that God is willing to bestow, and therefore the world does not fully express his absolute goodness. That the world is an imperfect copy of the ideal world Philo shows by an ingenious, but untenable, reading of scripture. Man, we are told, was 'made after the image of God.' This he does not understand in the plain and obvious sense that man shares in a measure the nature of God, but in the sense that man is a copy of the ideal man, which is itself a product of the Reason of God. But, as man is only a part of the visible universe, we must infer that the whole universe is a copy of the ideal universe, which again is the product of the divine powers. Thus Philo preserves the absoluteness and inscrutability of the Divine nature, while seeming to explain the activity of God as impressed upon the visible universe.

Convinced that the account in Genesis of the first day of creation must refer to the origin, not of the sensible but of the ideal or intelligible world (*κόσμος νοητός*), Philo proceeds to show that from it we may gain some idea of the various parts of this ideal world in the order of their rank.

Philo, as we have already seen, puts the creation of the ideal world out of time. "In the beginning God made the heavens" means that, before the visible universe came into being, there already existed an ideal world which had no reality except in the divine mind. Time is the succession of states exhibited by the heavens in its revolution; and as there can be no motion prior to the thing moved, time or succession could not exist prior to the creation of the visible heavens. We cannot properly say

that the sensible world was made in time, but that time subsists through the sensible world. The heavens were made 'first' only in the sense that in the divine mind the heavens were first in the order of thought, because the highest in rank. Such an order of subordination is, indeed, essential to the beauty of the ideal world. This distinction between the ideal world as eternal, and the sensible world as temporal, Philo borrowed from Plato, who distinguishes between infinite time, *αἰών*, and originated time, *χρόνος*, (*Tim.* 37 D), regarding the latter as dependent upon motion. Aristotle and the Stoics also connect time with motion, but they differ from Plato and Philo in regarding the world as eternal, and therefore time as also eternal.

So far by following Philo closely in his treatise on the creation of the world, we have gained a fair idea of his exegetical method and a general outline of his philosophy. It will now be necessary to give a more summary statement of his system. We have seen that his ideas revolve round certain central points—the absoluteness of God, the divine Reason, the divine powers and ideas, the visible creation, including man, and its relation to God. These points we must now consider more in detail; and first as to the absoluteness of God.

Philo affirms, in the most unqualified way, that it is absolutely impossible for man to know the inner nature of God. "The divine realm," he says, "is truly untrodden and unapproachable, nor is the purest understanding able to ascend even to such a height as to have a direct perception of the self-existent Being. When it is said that man cannot see the 'face' of God, this is not to be taken literally, but is a figurative way of suggesting the absolutely pure and unmixed idea of the self-existent Being, because the peculiar nature and form of man is best known by his face. For God does not say, 'I am by nature invisible'—for who can be more visible than he who has originated all other visible things?—but he says, 'Though I am by nature visible, no man has seen me.' And the cause lies in the wickedness of the creature. To speak plainly, we must become God—which is impossible—before we can comprehend God." Philo, then, maintained that the human mind is by its very nature for ever precluded from comprehending the inner nature of God: to know God as He is, we must be God. This does not mean that God is in His own

nature incomprehensible : He is known to himself as He truly is : but His very greatness makes it impossible that any finite being should comprehend Him.

This doctrine of the absolute incomprehensibility of God Philo finds in scripture. "In Deutronomy xxxii. 39, we read : 'Behold, behold that I am, and there is no God beside me.' Now here, God does not say, 'Behold me'—for it is impossible for the creature at all to comprehend God in His inner being—but, 'Behold that I am,' *i.e.*, contemplate my existence ; for it is enough for human reason to attain to the knowledge that there is and exists a cause of the universe ; and any attempt to go further and discover the essence or determinate nature of this cause is the source of all folly."

As God cannot be grasped by thought, so His nature cannot be expressed in human language ; there is no name which is fitted to express that which is incomprehensible and therefore inexpressible. This also, Philo argues, is the doctrine of scripture. When Moses asked by what name he should designate the Being who sent him, the divine answer was : "I am He who is" (*ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν* : *Exod. iii. 14*) ; which was equivalent to, "It is my nature to be, not to be named."

Since God is incomprehensible and inexpressible, He is without qualities (*ἀπορος*). "He who thinks that God has qualities," says Philo, "or that He is not one, or is not uncreated and imperishable, or is not immutable, injures himself not God."

In thus removing God beyond the sphere of definite thought and speech, and denying that He has qualities, it was not Philo's intention to affirm that God is a purely abstract or indeterminate being ; what he meant was that God was infinitely concrete, and hence cannot be characterised by any of the predicates which we apply to the finite. "It is impious," he says, "to think of anything as better than the cause of all things, since nothing is equal to Him, nothing a little lower, but everything after God is found to have descended by a whole genus." The distinction, in other words between the Finite and Infinite is absolute, so that no predicate which we apply to the finite can be applied in the same sense to the Infinite ; yet this is not because the Infinite contains less than the finite, but because it contains infinitely more. Here, in Philo, we have that curious alternation between the

absolutely abstract and the absolutely concrete which was afterwards developed by Spinoza. This contradiction is smoothed over by the doctrine that the highest predicates which we apply to the absolute are merely "similitudes and forms"; they are the human symbols of what cannot be expressed adequately in language. How we can know that these predicates *are* symbols of what we do not know, Philo does not tell us; in truth, no solution of the contradiction is possible, so long as the absolute incomprehensibility of God is maintained; and we have therefore to fall back upon the compromise, which has again and again been called into service, that, while we do not know God, He gives us in the ideals that impress our souls an adumbration of His nature, which is enough to reveal to us how infinitely perfect He really is. Philo, therefore, allows himself to characterise God by these highest predicates. God is primarily the self-determining Reason, the first cause of the universe. Hence, He must be conceived as "the uncreated and eternal cause of all things." He is also absolutely one and indivisible, the archetypal unity. "Though existing outside of the creation, He has none the less filled the world with himself;" but He does so, not because He is diffused through space and time—for He is above both—but because the influence of his creative will is manifested in every part of creation. And, as we have already seen, He communicates of His infinite goodness to the finite as much as it is able to receive.

JOHN WATSON.

(Continued in next Number.)

EARLY RECORDS OF ONTARIO.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORD OF THE COURT OF QUARTER
SESSIONS FOR THE DISTRICT OF MECKLENBURGH,
(AFTERWARDS THE MIDLAND DISTRICT).

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY PROFESSOR A. SHORTT.

Introduction :—Immediately after the Conquest, Commissioners or Justices of the Peace, among other officers of the law, were appointed in the Province of Quebec and various ordinances were passed by the provisional government. But the Quebec Act of 1774 entirely abolished at once the political and judicial system of the colony, and repealed "all and every ordinance and ordinances made by the Governor and Council of Quebec for the time being, relative to the civil government and administration of justice in the said Province and all commissions to Judges and other officers thereof."

After the passing of the Quebec Act, therefore, the Governor and Council provided for by it began with a clean sheet, as far as the machinery for carrying on the government and administering justice were concerned.

During the years 1775 and 1776 the very existence of the colony as a British possession being threatened, provision for its civil administration could not be thought of. But, with restored security in 1777, the Governor and Council began to pass laws in the shape of ordinances. The first one was very naturally "An Ordinance for establishing Courts of Civil Judicature in the Province of Quebec;" the second, "An Ordinance to regulate the proceedings in the Courts of Civil Judicature in the Province of Quebec," and the fifth, "An Ordinance for establishing Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction in the Province of Quebec."

Commissioners or Justices of the Peace with summary powers both individually and collectively were again provided for. From time to time their powers and duties were enlarged until they covered quite a variety of subjects. Thus the Courts of Quarter Sessions came to possess both legislative and executive functions in addition to being Courts of both civil and criminal jurisdiction.

After the arrival and settlement of the U. E. Loyalists in the western portion of the Province, additional Justices of the peace were appointed for those localities, but without at first any provision for Courts of Quarter Sessions or any other Courts. In all matters not permitted to be disposed of in a summary manner by one or more magistrates, recourse had to be had to the Courts at Montreal. Great inconvenience naturally resulted. This was only very partially remedied by the passing of an Ordinance in 1785 "for granting a limited Civil Power and Jurisdiction to His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in the remote parts of this Province."

The new comers had been long accustomed to British laws and institutions, as well as local self-government, in the colonies from which they had come. Naturally, therefore, they objected very strongly to the conditions under which they found themselves placed in Canada. Here they were subjected in the tenure of their lands, and in all civil matters to French-Canadian laws and customs, while, constitutionally at least, they were without any sanction for a system of local self government.

Complaints, protests and petitions emanated from them through various channels. At length in April 1787 an ordinance was passed (27th Geo. III. c. iv.) continuing a previous ordinance with reference to the administration of justice with some additions, the most important being the following clause. "Whereas there are many thousands of loyalists and others settled in the upper countries above Montreal, and in the bays of Gaspé and Chaleurs below Quebec whose ease and convenience may require, that additional districts should be erected as soon as circumstances will permit, it is enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that it may be lawful for the Governor or Commander in chief for the time being, with the advice and consent of the Council, to form by patent under the seal of the province, one or more new districts, as his discretion shall direct, and to give commission to such officer or officers therein as may be necessary or conducive to the ease and convenience to His Majesty's subjects residing in the remote parts of the province."

Information of this intended additional relief was apparently conveyed to the magistrates of the new settlements by Sir John Johnson, who had a general supervision of the western territory.

In a letter¹ from the magistrates to Sir John Johnson, dated Cataraqui, (afterwards Kingston), 22nd Dec. 1787 the concession is gratefully acknowledged and further improvements suggested. "Your circular letter directed to the Magistrates of the new settlements, dated the 27th November, reached this place to-day, at a time when a memorial was preparing to be laid before His Excellency Lord Dorchester in Council respecting some matters deemed essential to the welfare of the settlements in this district, and we are happy to find that his Lordship's disposition to serve us has rendered such a step unnecessary; and it gives us an additional pleasure that we are required to transmit our sentiments on such an important subject to you Sir, of whose exertions to procure us every advantage our situation will admit of, we cannot entertain a doubt.

The object that first presents itself as of the most importance is the tenure of the lands. The conditions on which they have been granted to the Loyalists in this province are so different from what they have been used to and so much more burdensome than those offered to our fellow sufferers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, that they are universally disagreeable. Nothing in our opinion would conduce so much to the prosperity of these settlements as the putting the grants of lands on the same footing they are on in the rest of British America. This would at once give the most universal satisfaction, enhance the value of all the other benefits that Government have bestowed on the settlers, and prove the most powerful spur to industry of all kinds.

Next in order is the due execution of justice and the administration of the laws. The power lodged at present in the hands of the magistrate is found by experience very inadequate to the regulation of a district so populous and extensive as this. Many causes must occur that they are not authorized to determine, and many crimes and trespasses have and probably will be committed, that it is not in their power to punish. The courts of the lower parts of the Province are so distant and the expense and trouble of attending them, and bringing the necessary witnesses so far from their homes, so great, that unless in cases of great import-

¹ Contained in the Letter Book of the Hon. Richard Cartwright, grandfather of the present minister of Trade and Commerce.

ance and enormity, offenders must always escape with impunity ; the ruinous consequences of which must be sufficiently obvious. To prevent these we would recommend the establishing at this place Courts of both Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction for the settlements in its vicinity ; so that all matters respecting either persons or property may be decided without any great delay or expense. And we think moreover that it will still be useful to the settlements that the Justices of the Peace retain the power they are invested with of deciding causes not exceeding the value of five pounds ; as the suing for such small sums at court must generally be attended with more expense than the first demands amount to, and the speedy decision of such causes is often of more consequences to the parties than the sum itself.

That the proceedings of our courts be regulated as far as possible by the Laws of England is a matter much to be wished, but whatever system is adopted in this respect we conceive it would be highly useful to have it compiled into a regular form and printed.

The election or appointment of proper officers in the several townships to see that the necessary roads be opened and kept in proper repair, we conceive would be of great utility, by facilitating the communication with all parts of the settlement.

Humanity will not allow us to omit mentioning the necessity of appointing overseers of the poor, or the making of some kind of provision for persons of that description, who from age or accident may be rendered helpless. And we conceive it would be proper that the persons appointed to this charge as well as the road masters, should be directed to make regular reports of the state of their districts, to the courts, at their meetings, and be in all cases subject to their control."

The document then goes on to deal with trade and other matters, but the portion here given throws considerable light on the working of the Court of Quarter Sessions about to be established. In accordance with the authority granted in the ordinance 25th Geo. III. c. iv, already quoted, Lord Dorchester issued a proclamation dated 24th July 1788 dividing the new settlements to the west of the French limits above Montreal into four districts named Luneburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau and Hesse.

The district of Mecklenburg is described as "extending with-

in the north and south bounds of our said province, from the western limits of the said district of Luneburg, [*i.e.* from the mouth of the Gananoque river] as far westerly as to a north and south line, intersecting the mouth of a river now called the Trent, discharging itself from the west into the head of the bay of Quinty, and therein comprehending the several towns or tracts called or known by the names of Pittsburg, Kingstown, Ernestown, Fredericksburg, Adolphustown, Marysburg, Sophiasburg, Ameliasburg, Sydney, Thurlow, Richmond and Camden."

Under the same authority commissions were given for the establishing of a Court of Quarter Sessions in each district. In the district of Mecklenburg the court went into operation the following year.

The more interesting and important portions of the record of this court are here published for the first time. As may be readily observed they throw much light on the beginnings of municipal government and to a certain extent of provincial government as well as on judicial administration.

After giving a few samples of cases tried and sentences passed, the common run of cases disposed of is omitted, nine-tenths of them being cases of assault and battery.

For the first few years the lists of the Grand Juries are given as indicating the more prominent settlers in the district at the time.

The spelling of the names is given as in the record and will be found to vary somewhat. Where the name is uncertain, from the difficulty of making out the manuscript, a note of interrogation is placed after it.

DISTRICT OF MECKLENBURG—TOWN OF KINGSTON. COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS.

TUESDAY, THE 14TH APRIL, 1789.

Present :—

Richard Cartwright, jr., Esq.
Neil McLean, Esq.
Richard Porter, Esq.
Arch. McDonell, Esq.

WEDNESDAY, THE 15TH APRIL.

Present :—The same Justices.

The King on the pro—of Joseph Desavier vs. Alexander McDonell, Jean Mignon, Michael Lemeur, Jean Chaudieau, In assault and battery.

The Grand Jury delivered into court a true bill.

The defendants being arraigned, Alex. McDonell, Jean Mignon and Michael Lameur plead guilty.

The Jury called and sworn were ¹ :—

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. George Galloway. | 7. Arthur Orser. |
| 2. John Wartman. | 8. John Ferris. |
| 3. Barn'bs Day. | 9. Gilbert Orser. |
| 4. Robt. Graham. | 10. Malcolm Knight. |
| 5. Peter Wartman. | 11. George Murdoff. |
| 6. Solomon Orser. | 12. Wm. Bell. |

Witnesses for the pro :—Wm. Whitehead, Francis Seuben.

For the defendant :—

The Jury having considered of their verdict, by their foreman say that the defendant is not guilty.

The Court having considered the verdict of the Jury—it is ordered that Jean Chaudion, defendant, is acquitted of the assault he is charged with.

The court having ordered Alexander McDonell, Jean Mignon, and Michael Lemeur to appear do consider that they shall pay a fine of ten shillings each.

Grand jurors absent—Peter Vanalstine, Gilbert Sharp.

Petit jurors absent—David Glyn. Charles Bennett, John Cascallon, ² Wm. Smith.

It appears to the court that the above named persons have been lawfully summoned and empaneled to serve at this general Court of Quarter Sessions, and have absented themselves without any just cause it is therefore considered that Peter Vanalstine and Gilbert Sharp do pay a fine of thirty shillings each, and that David Glyn, Chas. Bennett, John Cascallon and Wm. Smith do pay a fine of twenty shillings each.

¹ Trial by jury was permitted in certain cases on the demand of either party by the ordinance 25th Geo. III c. 2. This was continued by 29th Geo. III c. III which made special provisions for the new districts.

In the English districts trial by jury was the rule.

² Carscallen.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS—TUESDAY, 14TH JULY, 1789.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, James Clark, Michael Hagerman, Eben'r Washburn, Rob't Clark, Esqs.

The Sheriff returned the precept to him directed with panel annexed of jurors' names, constables, &c.

The Grand Jury called and sworn will appear on said panel ; Samuel Brunson and Paul Trompour being duly called were absent.

The court having considered that stallions running in common are a nuisance, do order that no stallion more than 2 years old shall be allowed to run after the twentieth instant under a penalty of forty shillings to be paid by the owner,—one half of which will be allowed the informer.

WEDNESDAY.

The King on the pro—John Baker vs. Joseph Cunnamah in trespass and assault.

The Grand Jury delivered into court a true bill.

The defendant being arraigned pleaded not guilty.

The jury without retiring, by their foreman Valentine Detlor say that the defendant is guilty of the trespass and assault whereof he stands indicted.

The court having considered of the verdict of the jury—it is ordered that the defendant shall receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare-back at the public whipping post of this town.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment of the 16th July last.

MONDAY, 12TH OCTOBER.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, Esqs.

A court of Oyer and Terminer ¹ having been held for this district of M — on the 20th of Sept. last, at which all the business for this district was settled,—the justices having taken into consideration the great inconvenience that would arise to the good people of the district on being again called together at this time and the little necessity there was for calling them, as no business appears to require it, they therefore, declined issuing any precept to summon any jury to attend at this session.

¹ Courts of Oyer and Terminer were established for the new districts at the same time as the courts of Quarter Sessions. Various regulations with reference to these courts are made in 29th, Geo. III. c. III.

A complaint having been made by Elizabeth Vansickler against John Carscallion, Alex. Chisholm and Alex. Clark of Fredricksburg for each of them detaining one of her children, and they having been duly summoned to appear at this session to show cause why the said children should not be delivered to their mother, and being duly called did not appear.

The court having duly examined into this matter find that although the said children were bound by the church wardens ¹ of Fredricksburg under the sanction of James Clark and George Singleton, Esqs., from humane and laudable motives, yet the business was not strictly legal and further that the considerations on the part of the said Jno. Cascallion, Alex. Clark and Alex. Chisholm were not sufficient, they being under no obligation to give the said children any education or instruct them in any trade, and that the said binding was without the knowledge or concurrence of the father or mother of said children, ² they do therefore, order and adjudge that the said Alex. Chisholm, Alex. Clark and Jno. Cascallion, do each of them, forthwith, restore to the said Elizabeth Vansickler the child he has in his custody;—and further they order that the said Elizabeth Vansickler after receiving the said children do depart this district by the first convenient opportunity, or at furthest by the 20th day of November next. This is indeed the ground on which she requests the restoration of her children; and it does not appear that she has the necessary means of supporting them. ³

The justices having ordered the Sheriff of this district of Mecklenburg to see that their order in favor of Elizabeth Vansickler is duly executed, do adjourn this court until Tuesday, the 12th day of January next.

¹ Here we have probably the first record of such local officers. As no mention is made of their appointment by the Magistrates but simply the sanction of their action, they were probably elected by the town of Fredricksburg. The neighbouring town of Adolphus has left a record of Town Meetings appointing town officers before any legislative authority sanctioned them. In the document quoted in the introduction the Magistrates refer to the need for such Town Officers.

² It may be observed that both the action of the Wardens and the criticism of it by the Magistrates are based on English civil law and custom, which however, had no place as yet in Canada.

³ Elizabeth remained, however, as we find her soon after a witness for the defence of a vagabond named McCarty.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS.

TUESDAY, 12TH JANUARY, 1790.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment of Monday, the 12th day of October last.

Present :—Rich'd Cartwright, Neil McLean, Robt. Clark, Arch'd McDonell, Nich's Hagerman, Steph'n Gilbert, Esqs., Grand Jurors absent—John Cascallion, George Muiduff, sick. Petit Jurors absent—Wm. Keller, left the district, Asa Huff.

The Court having considered the great abuses arising from the unlimited sale of spiritous Liquors by the Tavern Keepers in this district, to all manner of persons and at irregular hours, they do therefore order and adjudge that the following condition shall be entered in the recognisances given by Tavern Keepers previous to their obtaining a Licence.—That during the term of their said Licence they shall not entertain servants, or suffer Tradesmen or Labourers to abide in order to drink and tipple at their house longer than one hour in the day time :—nor sell any Spiritous Liquors after the hours of nine o'clock at night in Winter, and ten o'clock in Summer.

Asa Hough being duly summoned to appear as a petit juror at this Court of Quarter Sessions made default, the Court do therefore order that the said A. Hough shall pay a fine of Twenty shill's.

The Court adjourn to the second Tuesday in the Month of April Next.

(To be Continued.)

THE COLLEGE.

REPORT OF THE PRINCIPAL TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1899.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

Undergraduates in Arts (attending).....	293
" " (extra-mural).....	104
Post-graduates in Arts (attending).....	17
" " (extra-mural)	8
General Students (attending).....	27
Students in Practical Science.....	34
" Theology	42
" Medicine	126

651

Or, allowing for double registrations, 633, as compared with 589, 567, 564, 533, 456, and 432 in the six preceding years. Our class-rooms are now over-taxed; and unless we provide a few larger class-rooms or restrict the attendance, the health of Professors and Students must suffer. The Chancellor has made this the subject of some remarks to the University Council, and the Council has appointed a committee to bring his address to the notice of the people of Kingston and the friends of the University elsewhere. Last session, one class had to be divided into two, but this was a deplorable waste of the time and energy of the staff, and it cannot go farther without a loss to the University graver than that involved in the restriction of our numbers. Now that the need is fully before our graduates and the public, a need which testifies to the demand for higher education and the ever-growing reputation of the University, it would be a libel on our patriotism and intelligence to say that it cannot or will not be met.

In giving the number of our students, we do not include those in "The School of Mining and Agriculture," or in the Dairy School or those in classes connected with various forms of University extension.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

In Medicine, M.D., C.M.....	25
In Theology (Testamurs).....	7
In Practical Science.....	2
In Arts (B.A. 55; M.A. 23).....	78

112

In addition, the following honorary degrees were conferred; on

the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister, the degree of LL.D., on last University day; and on April 25, the same degree on Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, G.C.M.G.; and on April 26, the same degree on His Excellency Lord Minto, and on Rev. W. H. Fitchett, Melbourne, Australia; and the degree of D.D. on the Rev. W. G. Jordan, B.A., Strathroy, Ont.

LOSSES DURING THE YEAR.

The Rev. Dr. Cochrane, a member of the Board of Trustees, has been taken from us by death. We lose in him a sincere and valued friend, one who interested his whole congregation in the work of Queen's.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND OTHER BENEFACTIONS.

The following report shows that progress is still being made in founding the Williamson Scholarships:—

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY THE TREASURER, J. B. MACIVER, TO THE WILLIAMSON MEMORIAL FUND, SINCE LAST PUBLISHED IN QUEEN'S QUARTERLY, JULY, 1898.

G. M. Grant, Kingston.....	\$ 100 00
William Cook, W.C., Quebec.....	10 00
Rev. W. S. Smith, Middleville.....	10 00
Rev. James Ross, D.D., Montreal.....	10 00
Rev. James Cumberland, Amherst Island, bal. on \$25.....	10 00
Andrew Bell, C.E., Almonte, bal. on \$20.....	7 50
Rev. Robert Young, Bath.....	2 00
Rev. John Gray, D.D., Orillia.....	1 00
Total at credit of this account.....	\$2,591 73

The minimum sum aimed at, \$2,500, has thus been reached, and the University Council decided yesterday to keep the fund open for another year, with the hope that the maximum of \$5000 may be attained. This is much to be desired, not only because of the great services rendered to the University by Dr. Williamson, but because Queen's has such a meagre list of Scholarships. Everyone knows what a potent attraction they are to the more promising students, who desire to take a University course but cannot, simply because of the *res angustae domi*.

Two years ago, the Chancellor intimated his intention to establish four Scholarships, one in each of the Faculties of Arts, Practical Science, Medicine and Theology; the first to be given last year, and one to be added each year thereafter. At the beginning of the session he announced that they would be established at once; and consequently, while the one in Arts was awarded on the results of the Matriculation Examination held last July, the other three were com-

peted for at the close of this session. The value of these Scholarships is \$310 annually, a notable addition to our list, for which all departments of the University are most grateful.

In connection with this subject, it may be pointed out that we need, perhaps even more than Scholarships for students, half a dozen Fellowships for our most promising graduates, to keep them in connection with the University, pursuing post-graduate studies and doing valuable tutorial work, to the relief of Professors and the benefit of extra-mural students. These graduates are as a rule our best men. They have learned enough to know their need of more learning. They are the class which will furnish future Professors and men of learning and research, so sorely needed in a new country. At present they go to the United States, where they have no difficulty in getting Fellowships, established by wise men in connection with Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Columbia, Chicago, and other Universities. Though not lost to the world they are thus lost to Canada. They would rather remain at Queen's; for as a rule their testimony is that they can do as good post-graduate work here, and in some subjects better work. At present our only Fellowships are the two established by the London Exhibition Commissioners of 1851 for research study abroad, of the value of \$743 each; besides "the William Nickle" in Mathematics, and the "Robert Waddell" established by Mr. Hugh Waddell of Peterboro, in Physics, of the value of \$150 each. We need especially three or four in Classics, Philosophy, English, and Political and Economic Science.

The most important benefactions of the year are those which have been given to found "the Sir John A. Macdonald Chair of Political and Economic Science," and to increase the Endowment of the Chair of Mental Philosophy. As regards the former, the following circular was issued last October:—

SIR:—Shortly after the death of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, the Honourable Senator Gowan, C.M.G., believing the best monument to a Statesman to be a Chair of Political and Economic Science bearing his name, and convinced that in the case of Sir John such a Chair should be in the University which he took an active part in founding, sent to the Principal of Queen's \$500 as the nucleus of an endowment fund for that object. From time to time since, Judge Gowan has sent other sums for the same object. His contributions now amount to over \$6000. The University had previously appropriated a sum towards the endowment of such a Chair on account of its intrinsic importance. From those two sources

\$1300 a year can be depended on, but as the average salary of a Professor of Queen's is \$2000, it is desirable to secure sufficient to yield \$700 a year additional. It is felt by friends of the University that the work so generously commenced by Senator Gowan should be completed, and the Chair established without further delay. We believe that many will be glad to take part in a movement to perpetuate, by a monument more useful and more enduring than marble or granite, the name and work of a great Canadian and Imperial Statesman, who was largely identified with the building of the Dominion and the Empire.

We have the honour to submit the paper annexed, to be filled up as may seem good to you and returned to any one of the undersigned. It is hoped that the Chair may be established at the annual Convocation in 1899.

SANDFORD FLEMING,

Chancellor, Ottawa.

JAMES MACLENNAN,

Chairman of Trustees, Toronto.

G. M. GRANT,

Principal, Kingston.

To this circular the following responded, with the subscriptions appended :—

Andrew Allan, Montreal.....	\$ 500 00
H. Montague Allan, Montreal.....	500 00
R. B. Angus, ".....	500 00
J. C. Booth, Ottawa.....	100 00
G. Y. Chown, Kingston.....	50 00
Wm. Christie, Toronto.....	500 00
Hon. Senator Clemow, Ottawa.....	250 00
Hon. Senator Cox, Toronto.....	500 00
James Crathern, Montreal.....	100 00
T. A. Dawes, Lachine.....	500 00
Jas. P. Dawes, ".....	500 00
John Donnelly, Kingston.....	100 00
T. Donnelly, ".....	50 00
Hon. Senator Drummond, Montreal.....	100 00
Miss Duncan, Montreal.....	40 00
Mrs. Farlinger, Morrisburg.....	500 00
Mrs. Field, Winnipeg.....	25 00
J. W. Flavelle, Toronto.....	500 00
Sir Sandford Fleming, Ottawa.....	100 00
Hon. Simon Fraser, Melbourne, Australia.....	120 00
J. A. Gemmill, Ottawa.....	10 00
George Gooderham, Toronto.....	500 00
W. G. Gooderham, ".....	200 00
Mrs. Gowan, Barrie.....	250 00
Mrs. Grant, Kingston.....	20 00
G. M. Grant, ".....	100 00
George Hague, Montreal.....	250 00
James S. Haydon, Camden East.....	500 00
Wm. Hendrie, Hamilton.....	500 00
G. Chr. Hoffmann, Ottawa.....	10 00
John Hope, Montreal.....	100 00

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

Chas. R. Hosmer, Montreal.....	500 00
John Kerr, Milton East.....	10 00
G. M. Kinghorn, Montreal.....	50 00
Matthew Leggat, Hamilton.....	250 00
Alexander Manning, Toronto.....	250 00
Lord Mountstephen, England.....	250 00
Robert Meighen, Montreal.....	500 00
Hugh McLennan, ".....	100 00
Wm. McKenzie, Toronto.....	500 00
S. F. MacKinnon, ".....	500 00
Hugh MacCulloch, Galt.....	100 00
Colin McArthur, Montreal.....	500 00
Hon. Senator McKeen, Halifax.....	250 00
T. W. Nash, Kingston.....	100 00
Jas. Norris, Kincardine.....	100 00
W. W. Ogilvie, Montreal.....	500 00
J. K. Osborne, Toronto.....	500 00
E. B. Osler, ".....	500 00
Lt. Governor Patterson, Winnipeg.....	500 00
Dr. R. H. Preston, Ottawa.....	25 00
R. G. Reid, Montreal.....	500 00
Jas. Ross, ".....	500 00
Hugh Ryan, Toronto.....	500 00
Jas. Scott, Parkdale.....	100 00
Hon. Senator Sir Frank Smith, Toronto.....	500 00
Hon. G. W. Stephens, Montreal.....	500 00
H. H. Strathy, Barrie.....	50 00
Hon. Senator Sullivan, Kingston.....	100 00
Rt. Hon. Sir C. Tupper, Ottawa.....	50 00
H. Walker & Sons, Walkerville.....	500 00
Rt. Hon. S. J. Way, Adelaide, Australia.....	49 00
D. R. Wilkie, Toronto.....	100 00
B. E. Walker, ".....	100 00
Fred. Wyld, ".....	100 00

Almost all of these subscriptions have been received by the Treasurer already.

Toward the further endowment of the Chair of Mental Philosophy the following subscriptions have been made, payable 1st May 1899 ; interest at 5 per cent being due from that date on so much of the principal as may be unpaid.

Malcolm MacKenzie, McLeod, N.W.T.....	\$1000 00
G. M. Grant, Kingston.....	900 00
S. W. Dyde, ".....	500 00
A. Shortt, ".....	500 00
T. A. Dawes, Lachine.....	500 00
Sir Sandford Fleming, Ottawa.....	400 00
Thos. Ritchie, Belleville.....	300 00
W. H. Easton, Grand Forks, Dakota.....	300 00
A. G. Farrell, Smith's Falls.....	250 00
T. G. Thompson, Belleville.....	250 00
G. Y. Chown, Kingston.....	200 00
Jno. R. Lavell, Smith's Falls.....	200 00
W. T. McClement, Chicago.....	200 00
Jas. Murray, Toronto.....	150 00
Mrs. Grant, Kingston.....	100 00
A. McLeod, Morden, Man.....	100 00
J. B. McLaren, Winnipeg.....	100 00
Dr. T. H. Farrell, Utica.....	100 00

G. M. Milligan, Toronto.....	100 00
J. J. McLennan, ".....	100 00
D. McTavish, ".....	100 00
D. V. Sinclair, Belleville.....	100 00
Alexander Nairn, Toronto.....	50 00

or \$6,500 in all. As the sum required to complete the endowment of this chair, now filled by Professor Dyde, is \$10,000, this list will be kept open.

FACULTY OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

The report of the Dean gives all needed information. It was submitted to the University Council yesterday, and as the part which referred to the extension of the Mechanical Laboratory and Workshops would interfere with the Gymnasium, a committee was appointed to consider it, with power to take action, in the direction of building a suitable Gymnasium, should sufficient encouragement be given.

FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

The only change in this Faculty is the addition of Dr. Third to the staff, as colleague with the Dean in teaching the important subject of the Principles and Practice of Medicine. In order to comply with a recent regulation of the Ontario Council of Physicians and Surgeons, the Session has been lengthened, as explained in Professor Knight's report, appended, for all students who intend to pass the Council's Examination.

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

Mr. Laird, Mr. Falconer, and Mr. Jordan gave the Courses of lectures which they were appointed by the Board last year to give. Mr. Jordan's Course on O. T. Exegesis was of great value; and the attention of the Board is called to the necessity of making more adequate provision for teaching this important subject.

I submit herewith the usual reports.

G. M. GRANT, *Principal*.

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, KINGSTON, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 2ND APRIL, 1899.

<i>Revenue.</i>	
Temporalities Board.....	\$ 2,000 00
The Professors Beneficiaries of the Temporalities Board.....	200 00
Kingston Observatory.....	500 00
Rent of Carruthers' Hall.....	1,250 00
Rent of Land.....	120 00
School of Mining.....	500 00
Chancellor's Lectureship.....	250 00
Hugh Waddell—Lectureship on Church History.....	250 00
John Roberts Allen.....	150 00
Fees.....	13,096 40
Interest on Mortgages and other securities.....	18,106 41

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

General Assembly's College Fund—

Church Agents	\$2,192 37	
Congregations contributing directly.....	1,322 30	
		3,514 67
Receipts for Scholarships		2,904 04
Interest on Jubilee Subscriptions		3,540 13
Balance Deficiency		8,359 40
		<hr/> \$54,741 05

Expenditure.

Deficiency 1897-8.....	\$ 8,954 54
Salaries—Professors and Lecturers in Theology.....	7,500 00
“ Professors and Tutors in Arts.....	25,107 00
“ Other Officers.....	2,814 67
Chancellor's Lectureship.....	250 00
Church Agent—Commission on collection for General Assembly's College Fund.....	60 00
Insurance	353 24
Library, Laboratories, Museum, Gymnasium, etc.....	2,823 01
Practical Science Department	443 74
Taxes, Repairs and Grounds.....	871 91
Scholarship Account	2,904 04
Travelling Expenses	109 00
Advertising, Printing, Stationery and Supplies.....	1,811 40
Fuel, Water, Gas and Electricity.....	645 64
Contingencies.....	92 96
	<hr/> \$54,741 05

Queen's College, Kingston, April 24, 1899.

Examined and found correct.

J. B. McIVER, *Treasurer.*

J. E. CLARK, {
D. CALLAGHAN. } *Auditors.*

PRACTICAL SCIENCE FACULTY.

The number of students working in the Mechanical Laboratory rose from 19 in Session 1897-8 to 30 in 1898-9.

This increase proved to be a pretty heavy tax upon our accommodation. We could, of course, have done better if we had been at liberty to arrange the hours for the students so as to suit the conveniences of the Laboratory, but this is not practicable, and could not be carried out without seriously interfering with the order of certain classes. The consequence was that although doing our best, students occasionally lost time through being compelled to wait.

If the increase next session is at all commensurate with that of the past session, an increase of accommodation will be imperative, and the only way of obtaining it is to appropriate the present Gymnasium for Carpentry, and to turn the whole of the lower flat into a machine shop. This would nearly treble our present accommodation.

In connection with the increased accommodation I would point out the necessity for more appliances. Many of our appliances we are able to make, and do make for ourselves; but as it requires machines with which to make machines, we must have fundamental appliances. We have two wood-turning lathes of our own manufacture, and we can make as many more as we wish. So also we have a small hole drilling machine nearly completed. But in the more complex machine tools the case is different. We are at present supplied with but two machine lathes, only

one of which is screw-cutting and which is really a fine lathe. But as this is the smaller lathe of the two it is unavoidably put, at times, to do work which is really too heavy for it, to the great risk of injuring it, and especially so in the hands of beginners. If we could get a good, complete, and moderately large lathe fit for comparatively heavy work, we might be able to build such others as would serve our purpose; for as students have to be kept busy, they might as well be building lathes as doing any other work in the shops. Of course they could not build such a tool as could be turned out by accomplished workmen, but they could make coarse lathes which would do for common work.

Towards the required lathe I am happy to acknowledge that we are in receipt of \$10 from Rev. A. Fitzpatrick of Q'Appelle, and \$100 from Mr. Charles McKenzie of Sarnia.

Again, the increase of students calls for a greater expenditure for instructors.

During the past session I was compelled to engage a permanent instructor in Carpentry.

In the machine shop, although I obtained a little assistance from F. W. Jackson, and gave all my spare time to it, yet as I had to lecture from 12 to 13 hours a week, the oversight of the work done was not adequate.

It is a great mistake to leave beginners to themselves in company with delicate tools and complex machines, for if tools are to be kept in good order and to be properly used, continual oversight is necessary. Students do not, in general, injure tools and machines through carelessness, for with few exceptions they are anxious to do their best and be successful, but they injure them through ignorance, from not knowing how to use them properly.

As the number of students in the machine shop will be largely increased next session, a permanent attendant will be a necessity.

To obtain a liberal education in the usually accepted meaning of the term requires only seated class-rooms, lecturers and students with books and brains. But in technical education you need a great deal more. For in addition to the foregoing list you must have working laboratories of various kinds, supplied with a goodly stock of material, with appliances, machines and tools in great variety, and you must be supplied with some source of power; for these are a *sine qua non* to any successful work in technical instruction.

It is a workshop adage that "mistakes in cast iron are expensive"; but it might be added that successes in cast iron and brass and steel are also expensive, for they require three expensive things in their expression, skill, and time, and labor.

Also most appliances for technical teaching are more or less fragile, and are subject to wear and tear and final destruction through usage, and have to be replaced from time to time. It is idle then to think of keeping up mechanical laboratories, or indeed any laboratories upon first cost.

It appears to me that we, (both the University and the School of Mining) are giving technical education too cheaply.

Moreover, as the majority of students in the mechanical laboratory are mining students, only 7 of them being not so, the mining as well as the other students should pay a direct fee for the use of the tools, machinery and instruction which they get there.

If every student paid \$10 it would go a long way towards covering the expenses of the shops, and would relieve me, to some extent, of the incubus of having to strain every nerve to keep down expenses.

Our source of power is not satisfactory. We have a nominal three-horse-power motor, and should be able to do the work, but the current, which is supposed to be 110 volts, generally fluctuates between 30 and 75 or 90 volts. We tried to get this state of things rectified at the L. H. & P. Co's Works, but have not been successful.

N. F. DUPUIS, *Dean*.

THE LIBRARY.

I beg to submit the following report with reference to the Library.

Additions to the Library during the past year :—

Purchased	595 Vols.
Donated	315 "
Bound Periodicals &c.....	272 "

Total 1,182 Vols.

Abstract of financial statement from Auditors' Report to October 1st, 1898 :—

Received from the Treasurer.....	\$1,612 00
From other sources	9 87

Total Receipts

Expenditure.....

Balance on hand

Received from the Treasurer for the current year...\$1,758 00

ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian*.

MUSEUM REPORT.

The Curator begs to report that since last Session some valuable additions have been made to the collections in the Museum. From the Royal Military College, a large number of specimens of Casts of Fossils, Fossils, Rocks, &c., which belonged to the Geological Department, have been received. Some of these are very valuable and will be highly appreciated by Students of Geology. They have not yet been arranged on the shelves, but I hope to be able to attend to this before next Session. The Military Department has kindly loaned them until such time as they may be required.

The Herbarium has also been largely increased by the donation of fully 1,200 specimens of plants by Rev. J. K. McMorine, M.A., a former student of Queen's. Many of these were collected in Tennessee, the Adirondacks, Manitoba, and other distant localities, and are consequently of special value.

The collection of Miss Annie Boyd, who secured the Gowan prize, was one of the very best we ever received, and a large part of it has been added to our previous store.

A bundle of specimens representing 600 species was received by exchange from the Herbarium of Cambridge University, England. Many of these were collected in Southern Europe and Northern Africa.

A bundle was also received from the Biltmore Herbarium in North Carolina containing many rare plants.

Dr. T. L. Walker of the Geological Survey of India, sent us a collection of Mosses and a number of Ferns, most of them from the Western Ghats.

Over 1300 sheets have been already mounted and arranged in their proper places, but a large number still remains requiring attention.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator*.

REPORT ON BOTANY CLASSES.

During the early part of the Session, the Junior Class met for lectures five days in the week, but in the latter part, two days were devoted to lectures and three to practical work. Each student was required to study fifty plants so as to recognize them at sight, and give the general characters of the Orders to which they belonged. The size of our Classroom and the number of its tables are not sufficient to accommodate a class of twenty-eight students engaged in practical work. It was therefore necessary to divide the class and take the separate parts at different hours. Twenty-eight bundles of plants, each containing 50 specimens, require more space for their proper display for study than we have at present at our disposal.

The Honour Classes consisted of Students whose previous preparation fitted them for prosecuting their work successfully, but in this case also, the lack of proper laboratory equipment retarded their progress.

A Biological building, with suitable laboratories for histological and physiological work, is absolutely necessary, if the Department of Natural Science is to be maintained in a condition corresponding to its importance. A Laboratory for each class, separate from the lecture room, and furnished with suitable tables for practical work, and convenient store-room for containing specimens, apparatus, reagents, &c., are indispensable.

I beg leave to bring the following matter to the notice of the Board. Within the last few years a great change has taken place in the method of teaching Botany in Colleges. The new Text-Books treat the subject from an altogether different standpoint from that previously adopted. Instead of directing the student's attention to the most perfectly developed plants first and descending step by step to the less highly developed orders, the reverse order is now followed. He is first introduced to the study of cells and unicellular plants. The structure of cells—their contents—their modes of reproduction—their physiological functions, &c., are studied first, and are made the starting point from which the student is gradually led up through the various ascending Classes of plants till he reaches the highest and most fully developed. The object of this method is to follow the path of natural development from the simplest to the most complex structures.

The introduction of this method in our Junior and First year Honour Classes is impossible and undesirable at present, but would be very beneficial for our Second year Honour Class. To prepare for this step, I wish to visit the Universities of Chicago and Cornell during Summer, and ascertain what changes and what apparatus may be needed to introduce the system. Professors Barnes and Atkinson of these Institutions have published valuable introductions to the new method within the past year. As I am already slightly acquainted with both these eminent botanists, a visit to their laboratories would enable me to acquire some valuable information, which I could turn to practical account in the future.

JAMES FOWLER.

REPORT OF PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS, SESSION 1898-9.

Herewith find the account of expenditure in the Physics Department for the current session.

As to extension of the Physical Laboratory, I would not advise putting up at present a separate building unless the trustees were in a position to appoint a professor of Electrical Engineering, a demonstrator of Practical Physics, and a janitor

who could take care of the building and keep the apparatus clean and in order. If funds for these purposes were available I would advocate a stone building, costing from \$10,000 to \$12,000. A much better plan for the present than the above would be to convert the present museum into a physical laboratory for general students. If the proposed new building for museum and library contained two or three large class-rooms, the most pressing needs of the University would be met. Whilst the present museum could not be converted into a good class-room, it would make a splendid physical laboratory. The cases there now fixed to suit the room could all be utilized, and more accommodation for apparatus is now much required. Additional furnishings, such as tables, &c., could be easily obtained from the apparatus fund.

With such additional accommodation Queen's would then be in as good a position, so far as facilities for teaching Physics is concerned, as such institutions as the following, all of which I have visited and carefully examined:—Berkeley College, California; the Universities of Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney; the School of Mines, Ballarat; Mason College, Birmingham; &c. Such equipments as can be seen in Montreal; Cambridge, Mass.; Johns Hopkins College, Baltimore; Cambridge, Eng.; or Edinburgh, it would be unwise to think of at present.

Herewith I enclose the demonstrator's report of the work done by the laboratory students. Sixteen paid the fee and attended this session. Mr. Baker's time was taken up with this number of students, but with greater accommodation and a set of the simpler apparatus and a table for each pair of students, such as would be arranged in a more commodious laboratory, a larger number could easily be handled.

Physical Laboratory Expenses from 1st April, 1898, to 1st April, 1899.

Expenditure.

Spent on Honour Text-Books, less amount received for use of same..	\$ 26 80
Expenditure on Apparatus and Laboratory.....	119 39
Allowance to W. Baker, M.A., the "Robert Waddell" Tutor in Physics.....	100 00
Total Expenditure	\$246 19

Receipts.

Balance in hand, 1st April, 1898	\$164 70
Apparatus Fees from Treasurer	340 00
Rebate of Duty on Apparatus.....	7 00
Interest	3 15
Total Receipts.....	\$514 85
Balance in hand, 1st April, 1899.....	\$268 66

D. H. MARSHALL, *Professor of Physics.*

REPORT OF WORK DONE IN THE PHYSICAL LABORATORY, SESSION '98-'99.

During last summer's vacation the course in practical Physics was completely reconstructed. Much of the Johns Hopkins Laboratory course was adopted; also experiments from Stewart and Gee, Glazebrook and Shaw, and other standard works.

The attendance was about the same as usual. The work done by the students shows a satisfactory degree of accuracy and uniformity. A complete record was kept.

The breakages have been very small only four or five pieces in all. The expenses amounting to five and a half dollars, have been reported in full separately.

Thirty-one lectures on Physics were delivered to the First-year Medical Students and the results of the examination including marks and attendance have been reported to the Secretary of the Medical Faculty as well as to the University Registrar.

WILL. C. BAKER, M.A.,
"Robert Waddell" Tutor in Physics.

THE OBSERVATORY.

The work done in the Observatory and in connection therewith has been of the same character as heretofore, although on account of the unusual percentage of cloudy weather during the past winter, the work was carried on under great disadvantages. Besides keeping time and supplying it to the city, observations were made in connection with the University classes, and especially with those of the Practical Science department, for the purposes of determining the meridian, the time, the latitude and the longitude, as well as for detecting and correcting instrumental errors.

Two series of lectures were given in Astronomy, one being descriptive and elementary, and the other being more mathematical, and having its applications in trigonometrical and geodetic surveying. In addition to these one public lecture was given on the planet Mars.

The transit at present in use is one borrowed from the Royal Astronomical Society and is of a very old type, and it would be profitable to consider the possibility of replacing it by a modern transit of medium size as soon as practicable, as the modern instrument would supply means of work which do not belong to the older instrument. And I would repeat here that a change of site should be taken into consideration at an early date.

N. F. DUPUIS, *Director.*

ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

The total registered attendance in all classes was 126, made up as follows :
 In Arts, in the pass-class 28, extra-murals 5, in first-year honours 12, extra-murals, 2 in second-year honours 5, extra-murals, 2 ;—

In medicine, attendance in the first year, 31 ; in the second year, 36 ; not including several senior students who attended the senior physiology for a second time ;—

In Veterinary Medicine, attendance 5.

The following is an abstract statement of the receipts and expenditure for the past year in connection with the Laboratory :

Receipts.

Laboratory Fees from Arts Students.....	\$ 170 00
Laboratory Fees from Medical Students	126 00
Proceeds of sale of electric lantern to the Collegiate Institute....	60 00
	<hr/>
	\$356 00

Expenditure.

Balance repaid	\$ 58 45
Wages, &c.....	66 90
Apparatus and Equipment.....	132 09
Dissecting Material and Chemicals	56 90
Balance on hand	41 66
	<hr/>
	\$356 00

After this year, an eight month's session in physiology becomes a necessity for students who desire to comply with the regulations of the medical council. The faculty, however, after full consideration decided that it was not in the interests of our medical students to lengthen the session. The question arose, how shall we provide for the wants of the two classes of students—those who desire a six months' session, and those who desire an eight months' one. The difficulty, so far as physiology is concerned, was solved in this way. Our students who do not intend to practice medicine in Ontario will complete their session at the usual time, and will take the University examination immediately thereafter. Those who intend to comply with the medical council regulations will take the regular University examinations along with the other students, and immediately thereafter will continue their work in physiology with me up to the 17th of May, at which time the council examinations begin. They thus complete the eight month's session required by the council of Ontario, and required now, also, by the medical council of Great Britain.

When this arrangement becomes general in all the medical classes, the summer session hitherto conducted during May and June may be discontinued, and a post graduate one might be tried in its stead.

Until we secure the books and magazines containing the records of past researches in the various branches of biology, we cannot begin research work with advanced or post graduate students. Last summer we were fortunate enough to secure an almost complete set of the *Quarterly Journal of the Microscopical Society* for £27 10 0. This is almost the only work of reference in my department, and its purchase exhausts my library appropriation for two years. The following list, kindly supplied to me from Brown University, R. I. is submitted as a guide to the librarian in watching for chances to secure important additions to our reference books in biology. The list shows also what a very small beginning has been made in securing original papers in my department. I have asked Brockhaus, Leipzig, to furnish me with an estimate of the cost of these works enumerated, and to notify the librarian of any chances of procuring second hand copies of past numbers of them.

American Journal of Physiology.
 Arbeiten aus dem Zoologisch-Zootomischen Institut.
 Archiv fur Mikroskopische Anatomie.
 Archives de Zoologie Experimentale et Generale.
 Annales des Sciences Naturelles.
 Archiv fur Entwicklungs-mechanik.
 Archiv fur Physiologie.
 Anatomischer Anzeiger.
 American Naturalist.
 Archiv fur die gesammte Physiologie, etc.
 Annotationes Zoologicae Japonensis.

Brain.
 Biologisches Centralblatt.
 Centralblatt fur Bacteriologie.
 Concilium Bibliographicum.
 Fauna und Flore des Golfes von Neapel.
 Jenaische Zeitschrift fur Naturwissenschaft.
 Jahresbericht uber die Fortschritte der Physiologie.
 Journal of Anatomy and Physiology.
 Journal of Applied Microscopy.
 Journal of the Boston Society of Medical Sciences.
 Journal of Comparative Neurology.
 Journal of Morphology.
 The Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science.
 Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society.
 Medical Record.
 Merkel und Bonnet's "Ergebnisse."
 Mittheilungen aus der Zoologischen Station zu Neapel.
 Morphologisches Jahrbuch.
 Natural Science.
 Science Progress.
 Zeitschrift fur Hygiene und Infectiouskrankheiten.
 Zeitschrift fur physiologische Chemie.
 Zeitschrift fur analytische Chemie.
 Zeitschrift fur wissenschaftliche Zoologie.
 Zoologische Jahrbucher.
 Zoologischer Jahresbericht.
 Zoologischer Anzeiger.
 Zoological Bulletin.

We need also large additions to our skeletons, mounted specimens, models and charts, but especially to our skeletons and mounted specimens. These are needed chiefly for our honour students. They can be obtained only by purchase, and the cost will, of course, vary with the number and kind purchased.

The purchase of such specimens will entail another expense; viz:—the purchase of proper cases in which to keep the specimens. These cases should be both dust proof and moth proof, and experience has shown that it is a very expensive matter to provide such cases for a museum. For example, the cost of providing them in Toronto University has amounted, since the fire, to \$12,500. It appears clear therefore, that looking to the immediate wants of the department of biology and to its natural expansion in the future, what we must look forward to is a new building.

A biological building should contain the museum, herbarium, lecture rooms, dissecting room, animal room, conservatory (for plants), and be equipped with reference library, models, aquaria, microscopes, maps and all other teaching appliances, all under one roof.

I have again to express obligations to Professor Dupuis for repairs to apparatus, and to Professor Goodwin for donations of chemicals. Principal Frith of Pickering College presented the histological laboratory with some fine microscope preparations of invertebrate animals. O. H. L. Wernicke, president of the Wernicke Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., gave us a beautiful quartered oak cabinet worth \$24 for our physiological apparatus.

A. P. KNIGHT.

The John Roberts Professor of Animal Biology.

CURRENT EVENTS.

HOMILIES without number have been preached on the Dreyfus case, reflecting generally on France and the French, and often predicting revolution as the sure outcome of the whole business ; whereas by the decision of the Supreme Court of France, Dreyfus is again Captain Dreyfus, assured of a fair trial, and scarcely a dog barks ! Frightfully discreditable incidents have been connected with the case. Racial hatred, yellow journalism, popular clamour, political timidity, personal, sectarian and clerical rancour, military pride and its contempt for civil authority have all been in evidence ;—driving men to suppress and to forge evidence, to shut their eyes to the truth, to persecute those opposed to them or to wild despair culminating in exile, suicide or murder. But are these things new under the sun or confined to France ? Does history show that we are any better or that we are warranted in crying “our hands are clean” ? Ought we not to remember that it is to Frenchmen that the vindication of Dreyfus is due ; to Scheurer-Kestner, Colonel Picquart and Zola, who stood firm, even when the heavens were falling around them ; to the advocates and Judges who did their duty calmly and fearlessly ; and above all, we may say, to the class sneered at as “intellectuals,” to whom the suspicion of being “unpatriotic” is almost equivalent to a sentence of death, but who ranged themselves in opposition to their clients, declaring that France could afford all risks rather than the risk of doing injustice to one poor Jew ? It has been proved that France has such a class, and that though their voices may be drowned for a time by a torrent of newspaper and popular passion their appeal to the second thought of the country will be heard. If heard in France, why should universities despair in countries where their number is relatively greater ? Let “the intellectuals” in the United States, the scholars and men of letters, the graduates of 400 Universities, and all who are able to put themselves at an objective rather than a personal point of view, cry aloud and spare not, insisting that Lynch law shall not supercede the regular courts, no matter how deep the prejudice against the negro or how chivalrous the regard for white women. They will surely succeed, unless the public conscience is less powerful than in France. And there is work for “the intellectuals” of Canada to do. The revelations of the bye-elections show that.

In spite of everything that has been urged to the contrary, the word which the Czar addressed to the world would seem to have been "fitly spoken." In view of Russia's persecution of Roman Catholics in Poland and of Lutherans in Finland, and of Mennonites, Stundists, Doukhobors and Jews throughout the Empire; in view of the wrenching of Port Arthur—the legitimate spoil of war—from Japan, and converting it into a first-class fortress for herself, as well as of her action in adding ceaselessly to a huge army and even to her navy, though she is no more liable to attack than is the United States,—a message counselling disarmament and peace did come oddly from one popularly supposed to be all powerful at home because he is called the Autocrat of all the Russias. But whether consistent or inconsistent, he is generally admitted to be sincere; and the fact that his own and almost every other country are staggering under their military burdens so that the addition to them resulting from war would mean financial ruin and probably revolution was so impressed on his mind that he could not help crying out. His cry has been heard, and it looks as if it would be answered, though in a different way from what he expected. To disarm was out of the question, for no one would begin. To make no addition to the present strength of armies would give an unfair advantage to the powers now fully equipped. To arrest the constant improvement of weapons of destruction would deprive civilization of its present advantage over barbarism. There was scarcely a proposal which was not riddled before the Conference met. But even unbelievers and cynics admitted that it had to meet, were it only out of courtesy to the Czar. And lo! the sessions had hardly commenced when a practical and far-reaching suggestion commended itself to the members. Why should there not be a permanent inter-national Court to arbitrate questions in dispute, just as there are national Supreme Courts which decide personal, Corporation, State and Provincial matters, which in olden times would have been settled by violence? Such a Court would be the most august expression of the common civilization which we owe to Christianity. Questions as to its *personnel*, the principles on which the different Powers would share in its constitution, its place or places of meeting, its regular work when the temples of Janus were shut all round the world, the Code of inter-national law which would guide its deliberations, were instinctively recognized to be of minor importance, once the reasonableness of having such a permanent Court was admitted. If the Conference should do nothing else but this, it will not have met in vain. But, it will do more. Besides, why should it be supposed that it is to have no successors? In all probability, it is only the first of an august series.

Besides the British proposal for a permanent inter-national Arbitral Court, the Russian proposal that nations, before engaging in war, should appoint other nations to discuss the point at issue, much as duellists appoint seconds "to consider the cause of quarrel and suggest a way out," stands a good chance of acceptance. Even if the mediating nations cannot arrest the war, they are to have the right of interposing with their good offices, without being considered unfriendly, at any time after hostilities have commenced. We detest duelling so heartily that the seconds as well as the principals are likely to share in our condemnation. In the estimation of other civilized nations, however, duelling is considered as legitimate as national war in defence of honour or rights; and the function of seconds is not to aggravate but to appease; to limit not to extend; to stop fighting when they can, by removing or explaining away the cause of the quarrel, instead of initiating it.

Should these proposals be accepted in good faith, what will the effect be? The cessation of war and the dawn of the millennial reign seen in the vision of the prophets? Alas, no. Not for a few thousand years yet. The real roots of war will remain for a long time in human nature, and while they are there wars will come. Frankly, the Russian delegate in opening the Conference, declared that the Powers could accept the system of arbitration "without sacrificing any of their ulterior hopes." It is those deep-seated, almost unconsciously entertained national hopes or aspirations which smoulder and gather power till a breath blows them into a flame that overleaps Conventions or Courts or anything else but a force recognized to be strong enough to extinguish the flame and punish the nation which gave it free course. What else keeps Pan-Slavism in check? Were the way now clear of Austria-Hungary, the march on Constantinople would at once begin! What else keeps France from regaining Alsace and Lorraine and making the Rhine her eastern boundary? The day that Germany gets into difficulties, the cry *à Berlin*, will spring from the throat of every Frenchman and Frenchwoman. What else has kept the United States since 1774 from extending to the Arctic Circle? A grander dream, it is true, is now taking possession of Americans, the dream of the two kindred nations holding the keys of the world, in the interest of commerce, freedom and peace; but this dream can be realized only by means of resistless fleets, and therefore the great Republic is industriously building battleships and cruisers. The arbitrament of the sword between nations, the *ultima ratio regum*, will remain for a long

time yet, seeing that no one has proposed that the inter-national court shall have at its disposal an army to fight for peace.

But if Arbitral Court and seconds cannot prevent all wars, they can do a little and perhaps much. They can secure time for reflection, for more light, for friendly mediation. They may prevent ten, twenty or fifty per cent. of the wars which would otherwise be waged. They may even bring them to a close before the weaker power is absolutely crushed. If either result be attained, humanity will owe a debt of gratitude to the Czar.

There are other wars besides those of stricken fields. Labour wars, social unrest, arising from avoidable or unavoidable causes, Industrial and Social Problems, the submerged tenth, workmen suddenly discharged because new inventions do the work more cheaply, old age without any provision for it, how shall organized society meet these problems? Met they must be or Christianity will be thrown aside as effete, and the social structure will be deprived of its moral basis. Every civilized nation is now face to face with these problems, in stages more or less acute, and apparently they are being solved more successfully in Britain than anywhere else. This is partly because of the larger number of trained minds sent to the Legislature, who go to it, too, not on the outlook for pay or office, but simply to serve the public, and partly because of the temper of the people which prefers tentative efforts to sweeping changes. It is delightful to see in the House of Commons scores of men like the sons of Lord Salisbury, inspired by a high sense of public duty, and bringing the most cultivated intelligence to the consideration of every question; and it is equally delightful to find constituencies eager to get such men to represent them. No one thinks of attacking them because they wear kid gloves, or reside beyond the bounds of "the deestrick." They offer themselves and they are taken, simply on their merits; and the fact that they are gentlemen is not an obstacle but a recommendation. When you have an audience of hundreds of men of that type, windy rhetoric has no place. Revolutionary proposals never get to the birth. Bills are looked at calmly and from every conceivable point of view; and consequently though an ambitious measure may be severely clipped before it gets to the third reading, it is likely to evolve into a residuum of law which marks a somewhat higher stage in the upward process of society. Through all those perils the much dreaded Workmen's Compensation acts have passed; and the Judges are interpreting them so liberally, regarding the spirit and not the mere letter, that the greatest employers of labour are now finding it to their advantage to insure their men liberally against all accidents. Mr. Chamberlain's "Old Age Pensions" proposals are now passing

Our source of power is not satisfactory. We have a nominal three-horse-power motor, and should be able to do the work, but the current, which is supposed to be 110 volts, generally fluctuates between 30 and 75 or 90 volts. We tried to get this state of things rectified at the L. H. & P. Co's Works, but have not been successful.

N. F. DUPUIS, *Dean*.

THE LIBRARY.

I beg to submit the following report with reference to the Library.

Additions to the Library during the past year :—

Purchased	595 Vols.
Donated	315 "
Bound Periodicals &c.....	272 "

Total 1,182 Vols.

Abstract of financial statement from Auditors' Report to October 1st, 1898 :—

Received from the Treasurer.....	\$1,612 00
From other sources	9 87

Total Receipts

Expenditure.....

Balance on hand

Received from the Treasurer for the current year...\$1,758 00

ADAM SHORTT, *Librarian*.

MUSEUM REPORT.

The Curator begs to report that since last Session some valuable additions have been made to the collections in the Museum. From the Royal Military College, a large number of specimens of Casts of Fossils, Fossils, Rocks, &c., which belonged to the Geological Department, have been received. Some of these are very valuable and will be highly appreciated by Students of Geology. They have not yet been arranged on the shelves, but I hope to be able to attend to this before next Session. The Military Department has kindly loaned them until such time as they may be required.

The Herbarium has also been largely increased by the donation of fully 1,200 specimens of plants by Rev. J. K. McMorine, M.A., a former student of Queen's. Many of these were collected in Tennessee, the Adirondacks, Manitoba, and other distant localities, and are consequently of special value.

The collection of Miss Annie Boyd, who secured the Gowan prize, was one of the very best we ever received, and a large part of it has been added to our previous store.

A bundle of specimens representing 600 species was received by exchange from the Herbarium of Cambridge University, England. Many of these were collected in Southern Europe and Northern Africa.

A bundle was also received from the Biltmore Herbarium in North Carolina containing many rare plants.

Dr. T. L. Walker of the Geological Survey of India, sent us a collection of Mosses and a number of Ferns, most of them from the Western Ghats.

Over 1300 sheets have been already mounted and arranged in their proper places, but a large number still remains requiring attention.

JAMES FOWLER, *Curator*.

REPORT ON BOTANY CLASSES.

During the early part of the Session, the Junior Class met for lectures five days in the week, but in the latter part, two days were devoted to lectures and three to practical work. Each student was required to study fifty plants so as to recognize them at sight, and give the general characters of the Orders to which they belonged. The size of our Classroom and the number of its tables are not sufficient to accommodate a class of twenty-eight students engaged in practical work. It was therefore necessary to divide the class and take the separate parts at different hours. Twenty-eight bundles of plants, each containing 50 specimens, require more space for their proper display for study than we have at present at our disposal.

The Honour Classes consisted of Students whose previous preparation fitted them for prosecuting their work successfully, but in this case also, the lack of proper laboratory equipment retarded their progress.

A Biological building, with suitable laboratories for histological and physiological work, is absolutely necessary, if the Department of Natural Science is to be maintained in a condition corresponding to its importance. A Laboratory for each class, separate from the lecture room, and furnished with suitable tables for practical work, and convenient store-room for containing specimens, apparatus, reagents, &c., are indispensable.

I beg leave to bring the following matter to the notice of the Board. Within the last few years a great change has taken place in the method of teaching Botany in Colleges. The new Text-Books treat the subject from an altogether different standpoint from that previously adopted. Instead of directing the student's attention to the most perfectly developed plants first and descending step by step to the less highly developed orders, the reverse order is now followed. He is first introduced to the study of cells and unicellular plants. The structure of cells—their contents—their modes of reproduction—their physiological functions, &c., are studied first, and are made the starting point from which the student is gradually led up through the various ascending Classes of plants till he reaches the highest and most fully developed. The object of this method is to follow the path of natural development from the simplest to the most complex structures.

The introduction of this method in our Junior and First year Honour Classes is impossible and undesirable at present, but would be very beneficial for our Second year Honour Class. To prepare for this step, I wish to visit the Universities of Chicago and Cornell during Summer, and ascertain what changes and what apparatus may be needed to introduce the system. Professors Barnes and Atkinson of these Institutions have published valuable introductions to the new method within the past year. As I am already slightly acquainted with both these eminent botanists, a visit to their laboratories would enable me to acquire some valuable information, which I could turn to practical account in the future.

JAMES FOWLER.

REPORT OF PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS, SESSION 1898-9.

Herewith find the account of expenditure in the Physics Department for the current session.

As to extension of the Physical Laboratory, I would not advise putting up at present a separate building unless the trustees were in a position to appoint a professor of Electrical Engineering, a demonstrator of Practical Physics, and a janitor

through the newspaper ordeal ; and the result will doubtless be a modest measure, but one that is likely to encourage self-help and Benefit Societies, instead of putting thrift and thriftlessness on the same plane and having regard to nothing but a certain fixed old age limit.

To the average Briton, American or Canadian, President Krüger, or Oom (uncle) Paul—as he is affectionately styled by his own people,—has no case. To the average burgher of the Transvaal Republic, the gold-diggers of Johannesburg and the imperial power behind them have no case. Both sides are obstinate and conscious of strength, and therefore it is possible that there may be war ; all the more so, because most of our Military and Naval officers are eager to wipe out the disgrace of Majuba and the other little unpleasantnesses of the last conflict. In my judgment, war between two such unequal powers would—no matter what the immediate issue—be ten times more disgraceful and calamitous than Majuba, and therefore may it be averted ! We have heard, over and over again, one side ; and no one has put it so skilfully and forcibly as Sir Alfred Milner. Let us hear the other side, remembering at the same time that the Boer—though not a talker—is a fighter and a believer in God.

“ This is our country,” the burgher says, “ and we intend that it shall always be our country. Little Holland and Denmark are independent, though Germany would like to absorb them to get their harbours and round off its Empire. Why should not the Transvaal keep its independence ? Our fathers *trekked* beyond the Vaal river, giving up their old homesteads, in search of a new land where they might be free, and assured that Britain had no claim, and would never extend its authority, beyond the Vaal. We, poor, unlearned but freedom-loving, made this country. We conquered the cruel heathen, though they were a hundred to one and as fearless of death as dervishes. Then Britain came, hauled down our flag, and decreed our Annexation. We fought and won our independence. It was guaranteed by a solemn Treaty signed by the Queen. We now make and execute our own laws, and there is no country in the world more united and orderly and religious. But gold was found in the reefs of Johannesburg, and men of all nationalities—English chiefly—swarmed in by the ten thousand. They are there to-day and they would fly to-morrow, if they heard of richer reefs to the North or the South. But we would remain to make our country better than it is and to hand it down to our children. Three years ago, a vile conspiracy was hatched against us in Capetown and Charterland. Cecil Rhodes, the head of it,

deceived the Governor, the High Commissioner, the man who had made him politically, Secretary Chamberlain—adviser of the Cabinet and the Queen in Colonial affairs, his own Colleagues both in his Ministry at Capetown and in his Company at London, and would have deceived us too, had we not known that it was our duty to be always on guard. We crushed that conspiracy and instead of hanging the invaders—as Canadians, Americans and Englishmen have done in like cases, we trusted to British justice and released them. The poor tools were put in prison for a short time, but the head and front of the crime is the most popular man in London. His great Company has never paid a dividend, but Englishmen still listen to the music of his pipe, and give him as many millions as he asks. He hates us and he has declared that his next move against our freedom will be strictly constitutional. We are asked to give the franchise to every one, on the plea that, as the Dutch have equal rights in Cape Colony, so Englishmen and others should have equal rights in the Transvaal. The cases are not parallel. We do not intend to allow our country to be taken from us by force, fraud or constitution-mongering. The franchise is a matter internal to every independent country, and no outsider has a right to speak on the subject. Great Britain did not begin to give the franchise to its own people till this century, it did not give it widely till the other day, and it has not given manhood suffrage or equal electoral districts yet. Had any outside power ever interfered in the matter, no Reform Bill would ever have been passed in England. We will widen our suffrage, as seems good to ourselves, and if President Kruger does not stand firm, we shall elect some one else who will represent us more faithfully."

There is the free burghers' story in brief, and my sympathies are with them; though their political views and ideals are those of the seventeenth while we are living in the nineteenth century, and therefore they are attempting the impossible. Have patience and things will come right in the Transvaal. Try to coerce the Boers, and they will fight as they fought before, until the sympathy of the British people is so roused that they will refuse to crush a brave enemy by force of numbers. Mr. Chamberlain is urged to play a strong game of bluff, but worse advice could not be given. A great nation cannot afford to play that game; and to suppose that Boers will be intimidated by threats is positively silly. Almost every move on our part with reference to them for sixty years, down to the recent conference at Bloemfontein, has been a mistake; but all our blunders put together would not be so colossal as active aggression now. There is a Transvaal problem, but it will be solved best by the evolution or march of events, and not by the tactics of Mr. Rhodes or even of Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain.

Nothing—not even the inevitable friction on the Canadian border—can prevent the growth of a good understanding between Britain and the States that implies a practical working alliance ;

The Alliance of Great Britain
and America.

an alliance neither for offence nor defence, but for the furtherance of high common ends in which our race is more deeply interested than in wealth or war, in trade or territory. The other great nations apparently do not believe that there are or can be such ends. Hence their all but universal outcry against a combination which they are afraid threatens them and which they could not resist. They might put any number of men in the field, but how could they get at the enemy ? Strange to say, the common people of Continental Europe sympathize with their rulers. Britain has always been their safe asylum, and the United States the land of promise to which they turned wistful eyes. Yet both powers are now envied and feared, and therefore hated. It is a new experience for the United States, but it is the price they have to pay for their prosperity, a price which Britain has had to pay for generations, and which they used to join with others in making her pay. "How is it possible for my neighbour to be richer than I am, unless he has in some way defrauded me" ? is the question which the natural man or nation puts instinctively. How shall we exorcise that evil spirit ? Not by protestations. These provoke only increased wrath. They prove to the hilt the well-worn charge that we are hypocrites. There is only one way, and it is a hard way for both nations. We must "do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with God," or we too shall share the fate of Nineveh and Tyre.

Nothing shows more clearly how far we are from being in an ideal state of mind than the failure—so far—of the High Commission, and the probability that —even should it meet again—it will be found impossible to agree upon a treaty.

The Relations between Canada
and the States.

Good has resulted to Canada from an attitude on the part of the States, which, though defensible in business competition, is not calculated to evoke love. It has developed our national spirit ; has led us to see clearly that our future depends on ourselves and on the maintenance of Imperial unity ; and has quickened our interest in such matters as the efficiency of our militia, transportation by Canadian channels and ports, and the Pacific Cable. As regards the last named, Canada—with the hearty backing of the British public—has forced the Imperial Government to reconsider its position. It will be strange if the Conference which has been called to meet again on the subject does not result in an agreement to lay and work the cable on the principle of joint-ownership. If so, we shall owe the success to Sir Sandford Fleming.

G,

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No. 2

All articles intending for publication, books for review, exchanges,—and all correspondence relating thereto—should be addressed to the editors, Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

PHILO AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

(Concluded from last number.)

IN attempting to estimate the possible influence of Philo on the New Testament, it is especially necessary to have a clear conception of his doctrine of the *Logos*, because here, if anywhere, we may expect to find the main point of contact between his philosophy and the formulation of Christian ideas.

The term *λόγος*, in its ordinary use, means either *thought* or *speech*. This double meaning is made use of by Philo to explain the relation subsisting between the intelligible or ideal world, which exists only in the divine mind, and the sensible universe which is its visible embodiment and image. "The *λόγος*," says Philo,, "is two-fold in the universe and in the nature of man. In the universe there is, on the one hand, the *λόγος* which has to do with the incorporeal and archetypal ideas constituting the intelligible cosmos, and, on the other hand, the *λόγος* which is concerned with visible things, these being copies and imitations of the ideas from which this sensible cosmos has been fashioned. In man, again, there is, on the one hand, the *λόγος ἐνδιδθετος*, and, on the other hand, the *λόγος προφορικος*. The former is like a fountain, the latter—the expressed *λόγος*—like the stream which flows forth from it; the seat of the one is in the ruling part (*τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*), the seat of the other—that which is expressed—is in the tongue and mouth and all the other organs of speech.....Two virtues have been assigned to it, expression (*δηλωσις*) and truth (*ἀλήθεια*), for the *λόγος* of nature is true and expressive of all things, and the *λόγος* of the wise man, imitating

the λόγος of nature, ought therefore to be absolutely incapable of falsehood ; it ought to honour truth, and obscure nothing from envy, the knowledge of which can benefit those who have been instructed by it. Not but what there have been assigned to the two forms of λόγος in us two appropriate virtues—to the λόγος προφορικός the virtue of expression, (δῆλωσης), and to the λόγος in the mind the virtue of truth (ἀλήθεια) ; for it is not fitting that the mind should accept anything false, or that declaration (ἐρμηνεία) should be a hindrance to the most precise expression of truth."

In this passage Philo draws a parallel between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Thought and speech in man are related to each other, as the intelligible cosmos is related to the sensible cosmos. As in man the inner source is the intelligence, which is revealed outwardly in speech ; so the archetypal ideas, which exist only in the divine intelligence, are expressed in the sensible cosmos, an imitation or copy of these ideas. The λόγος of the intelligible world constitutes its order and harmony, and from this same λόγος proceeds the order and harmony which is found in the visible universe in an outward form. Thus the intelligible and the sensible universe correspond as perfectly as truth and its outward expression in language. Hence man in grasping by his intelligence the order and harmony of the visible universe will attain to truth, and this truth he will adequately express when his language precisely and accurately expresses his thought.

In this instructive passage we see how Philo sought to preserve the absolute inscrutability of God, and yet to explain how it is possible for man to have in a certain sense a knowledge of God. Though in His inner essence incomprehensible by any but Himself, God has created the intelligible cosmos by his self-activity. From this intelligible cosmos, which constitutes the divine λόγος, is to be distinguished the visible cosmos, which is its outward expression. Thus the λόγος is, on its inner side, the *Thought* of God, and on its outer side the *Word* of God. The *Word* is therefore in Philo the rational order manifested in the visible cosmos ; in modern language it is the system of laws constituting the permanent and abiding element in all the changes of phenomena. To comprehend this system is therefore to grasp the outward expression of the divine intelligence.

Since he holds that God always remains in absolute unity with Himself, Philo naturally represents the λόγος as the instrument of creation, while God is the ultimate cause. "God is the cause," he says, "not instrument. Whatever comes into being is produced *by means of* an instrument, but by the cause of all things. In the production of anything there must co-operate (1) that *by which* it is made; (2) that *from which* it is made; (3) that *through which* it is made; (4) that *on account of which* it is made; in other words, (1) the cause, (2) the matter, (3) the instrument, (4) the reason or purpose (*αἰτία*). Thus, in the production of a house or a whole city there must co-operate, (1) the architect, (2) the stones and timber, (3) the instruments. Now, the architect is the cause *by which* the house is made, the stones and timber are the 'matter' *from which* the building is made, the instruments are the things *through which* it is made, and the *reason* of its being made is to afford shelter and protection. Passing from particular things, look at the production of that greatest of all buildings or cities, the world, and you will find that God is the cause, by whom it has been produced, that the matter is the four elements from which it is put together, and the instrument is the λόγος of God through which it has been formed, and the reason of its existence is the goodness of the Creator." (I. 161 §35).

The λόγος is here distinguished from God, as the *instrument* from the *cause*. Following the analogy of a human architect, and adopting the Aristotelian distinction of the efficient cause, the matter, the instrument and the end, Philo represents the visible universe as a vast temple or city, the orderly arrangement of which is due to the λόγος, *i.e.*, the outer expression of the divine word. The λόγος or *Word* is therefore the instrument employed by God in the creation of the world. The *Word* is not the cause of the world—the primal energy from which it has proceeded—but the means by which the world has received its order and system.

As the λόγος is the instrument by means of which God made the world, it is in its nature intermediate between God and man. It is therefore "neither unbegotten as God, nor begotten as man" (I. 502), but is eternally begotten; in other words, the λόγος has not come into being in time, but is eternal; while, on the other

hand, it is not self-creative, but is dependent upon the original creative energy of God. Philo's view may therefore be summed up in the phrase: the *λόγος* is eternally begotten, not made.

Again, when the *λόγος* is viewed as the expressed thought or *Word*, and therefore as the rational principle of the visible cosmos, it is called the "oldest" or "first-born Son" of God (*πρεσβύτατος υἱός—πρωτόγονος υἱός*, I, 414, 308). Hence we find Philo saying that "the eldest *λόγος* of the self-existent Being puts on the cosmos as a garment, for it arrays itself in earth and water and air and fire and their products, as the individual soul is clothed with the body, and the mind of the wise man with the virtues." "The *λόγος* of the self-existent Being," he adds, "is the bond (*δεσμός*) of all things, which holds together and closely unites all the parts, preventing them from being loosened and separated." (I, 562.) By the 'first-born Son of God,' we are therefore to understand that ideal bond or law which determines the order and harmony of the visible universe. Philo, however, conceives of the Word not merely as the law of nature, but as the law which determines the course of human life, and especially the destiny of states and nations. "Once Greece flourished," he says, "but the Macedonians deprived it of its power. Then Macedonia had its period of bloom, but it was gradually dismembered, and finally its authority entirely perished. Prior to the Macedonians the Persians were prosperous, but in a single day its vast and mighty kingdom was overthrown. And now the Parthians are more powerful than the Persians, who but the other day were their masters. Egypt once had a long and glorious career, but like a cloud its great dominion has passed away. Where are the Ethiopians, where are Carthage and Libya? Where are the kings of the Pontus? What has befallen Europe and Asia, and, in a word, the whole habitable world? Is it not tossed up and down and agitated like a ship at sea—at one time sailing under prosperous winds and again struggling with contrary gales? For the divine *λόγος*, which most men call fortune (*τύχη*) moves in a circle. Ever flowing on it acts upon cities and nations, assigning the possessions of one to another, exchanging the possessions of each by periods, but ever making for the conversion of the whole habitable world into one city, with that highest form of polity, democracy, (I. 298)."

The *λόγος* is also called "the man of God." As such he is called the 'father' of all noble men, "a father not mortal, but immortal;" and as the 'heavenly man' (*οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος*) he is opposed to Adam, the 'earthly man' (*γήινος ἄνθρωπος*).

The *λόγος* is also called the 'second God.' "Why does Moses say," he asks, "that God 'made man in the image of God', as if he were speaking of another God, and not of Himself? This mode of expression is beautifully and wisely chosen. For no mortal could be made in the image of the most high God, the Father of the universe, but only in the image of the second God (*δεύτερος θεός*), who is the *λόγος* of the other. For it was fitting that the rational (*λογικός*) impression on the soul of man should be engraved by the divine *λόγος*, since the God prior to the *λόγος* is higher than every rational nature; and it was not lawful for any created being to be made like Him who is above reason."

Philo's whole system of thought compels him to interpose the *λόγος* between the incomprehensible and self-contained God and man, and hence man as a rational being is the image of the *λόγος*, which is itself an image of God. It was therefore natural for Philo to represent the *λόγος* as the mediator between God and man. "The Father" he says, "the creator of the universe, has given to the *λόγος* the privilege of standing as the mediator between the Creator and that which He has made. And this same *λόγος* is an intercessor (*ἰκέτης*) to the immortal God in behalf of the afflicted race of mankind." As the eternal Word of God, the *λόγος* maintains the universe in perpetuity, and secures the permanence and order of human society. As an "intercessor," the *λόγος* is naturally called the 'high priest.'

So far the *λόγος* has been characterised as (1) the Word, (2) the instrument of creation, (3) eternally begotten, (4) the eldest or first-born Son of God, (5) the 'man of God', (6) the 'heavenly man', (7) the 'second God', (8) the Mediator, (9) the Intercessor, (10) the High Priest. All these ways of characterising the *λόγος* find their parallel in the New Testament. To them we may add (11) the Logos as the manna, the bread that came down from heaven, (12) the living stream, (13) the sword that turned every way, or the 'cutter' (*τομεύς*)—conceived as at once the divider of the genus into its species and of the sacrifice

into its parts, (14) the cloud at the Red Sea, that divided the Egyptians and Israelites, (15) the rock in the wilderness ; all of which appear in another way in the New Testament.

It may be asked whether Philo conceived the *Λόγος* as a *person*. That he *personifies* it is implied in his calling it the Son of God, the man of God, the heavenly man, the second God, the Mediator, the High Priest ; but it is one thing to represent the *λόγος* under these figures, and another to maintain that it is a person. The answer seems to be that the Logos is never conceived by Philo as a distinct person, but always as the Thought of God, constituting the divine Mind, which is expressed in the rational order of the visible universe. It is true that Philo finds in the angelic or divine appearances mentioned in Scripture a reference to the *λόγος*, but he invariably explains these as allegorical modes of expressing the nature of the divine reason. We must, however, admit, I think, that Philo also accepted these divine appearances as actual embodiments of the *λόγος*, as when he speaks of it as the guide to the Patriarchs, the angel who appeared to Hagar, the avenging angel who destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, the God who appeared to Jacob, the Divine form who changed the name of Jacob to Israel, the angel of the Lord in the burning bush, the angel who appeared to Balaam, the guide of the Israelites in the wilderness. If it seems strange that Philo should accept the accounts of these divine appearances literally, while yet he found in them a mystical signification, we must remember that his whole mode of thought is an illogical combination of traditional Judaism with Greek conceptions. It is no more surprising that Philo should have accepted with implicit faith the Jewish belief in angels and divine appearances, while holding a philosophical theory inconsistent with that belief, than that he should have held tenaciously by the Jewish ritual, while yet he found in every feature of it an allegory of the divine nature in its relation to man.

Besides the parallels with the New Testament already mentioned, there are one or two very striking resemblances in his treatment of the kindred notion of the law. " In Gen. xxvi. 5 we are told that 'Abraham kept all the law of God.' Now, the Law (*νόμος*) is nothing but the divine Word (*λόγος*), which commands what ought to be done, and forbids what ought not to be

done, as scripture bears witness when it is said, 'he received the Law (*νόμος*) from his words (*ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων*)' (Deut. xxxiii, 4). If then the Word (*λόγος*) of God is the Law (*νόμος*) of God, and the righteous man keeps the Law, he also entirely keeps the Word, so that, as scripture says, the actions of the wise man are the words of God, (I. 456.)"

We have in this passage a curious interblending of the traditional faith in the Torah, which is characteristic of the Palestinian Schools, and the Greek conception of law as the order and harmony of the universe. The Law is the Word of God, because it is directly inspired by God, but it is also the Word, because it is an expression of the rational system which is embodied in the visible cosmos. Thus the Law as contained in the Mosaic writings is the word of God, containing the commands and prohibitions binding upon men, but these commands and prohibitions are an expression of the Word as the law of things, and more particularly of the moral law. Thus the Mosaic Law, the Stoical law of nature, and the Aristotelian conception of reason are brought into a sort of harmony.

Closely connected with this identification of the Word and the Law, is Philo's doctrine that in obedience to the law is freedom, while subjection to passion is slavery. "Men who are under the dominion of anger or desire or any other passion, or of intentional wickedness, are complete slaves, while those who love the law are free. For the Law is unerring, right reason (*ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος*); it is not made by this or that man; it is no transitory law of mortals, written on parchments, or engraved on columns, the lifeless on the lifeless, but an eternal law stamped by the immortal nature on the immortal mind, (II. 452)." We can hardly fail to see here the beginning of that wide conception of law, which is found in the Pauline epistles; a law written on the 'fleshy tables of the heart,' such as those had who, 'not having the law, were a law unto themselves.' Thus Philo, while holding by the letter of the Mosaic law, is under the domination of a higher conception of law, as having its seat in the conscience of the spiritual man.

But perhaps the most striking parallel to St. Paul is found in the conception of the *λόγος* as the condition of moral guilt, reminding us of St. Paul's saying, 'the law entered in that sin

might abound.' Hence the *λόγος* is called the *ἐλεγχος*, the conquerer of guilt. "The *ἐλεγχος*, which dwells in and is inseparable from each soul, refusing to accept what is wrong, always preserves its nature as a hater of evil and lover of virtue, being itself at once accuser and judge (II. 195)." Here the conception of the Mosaic law has fallen into the background, and the reason or conscience is the conquerer of sin, just because man contains within himself or is conscious of the divine *λόγος*.

Philo holds that the soul existed prior to its union with the body and will survive the decay of the latter. "Every man in his reason is connected with the divine *λόγος*, being an ectype (*ἐκμαγεῖον*) or fragment (*ἀπόσπασμα*) or spark (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of that blessed nature, while in the structure of his body he is connected with the rest of the world, (I. 35)." Hence the wise man—Abraham, Jacob, Moses—confesses that while on earth he is a stranger in the Egypt of sense.

Closely connected with this conception of the soul as a stranger dwelling in an alien world, is the idea that the body is the source of evil. "A thousand things escape from and elude the human mind, because it is entangled in so great a crowd of impressions, which seduce and deceive it by false opinions. Thus the soul may be said to be buried in a mortal body, which may be called its tomb (II. 367)." "It is possible for the divine spirit to dwell in the soul, but not to take up its permanent abode there. And why should we wonder at this? For there is nothing in this world the possession of which is stable and lasting, but mortal affairs are continually wavering in the balance, now inclining to one side and then to the other, and liable to continual alternations. And the greatest cause of our ignorance is the flesh (*σάρξ*) and our connection with the flesh. With this agrees the saying of Moses; Because 'they are flesh, the divine spirit' is not able to abide in them. And indeed marriage and the rearing of children, provision for the necessary wants, and meanness, and avarice, and occupation are apt to wither wisdom, ere it come into bloom. Nor does anything so impede the growth of the soul as the fleshly nature (*σαρκῶν φύσις*). This is the first and main foundation of ignorance and want of understanding, and upon it, each of the things spoken of is built (I. 266)." Hence Philo speaks of the life of the wicked as 'working and

pursuing what is dear to the flesh' (*τὰ φίλα τῇ σαρκὶ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μεθοδεύειν*). "There is an original sin in the flesh, and in man as a created being, against which the divine spirit is ever striving. There is a strife in the camp, says Moses; that is, the Spirit within us cries out. Not that the bodily substance of the flesh is to be regarded as the source of evil, but the flesh comprehends in itself the ideal evil will, ever seeking to satisfy the lusts of the flesh."

"Hence Philo is led to make a new division of the soul into two parts: the one in alliance with the flesh, the other separate from it. There are two kinds of men, he says—those who live in the flesh, and those who live in the Spirit. And there is an outer soul, *ψυχὴ σαρκική*, the essence of which is blood, corresponding to the first of these two classes; and an inner soul, *ψυχὴ λογική*, which answers to the latter, into which God puts his Spirit. That is the true soul; the soul of souls, as it were—the apple of the eye (II. 241, 356). In like manner he seems disposed to confine immortality to the souls of the good."*

The end of human life is to become like God, and virtue is the means to this end. Man is by nature corrupt, and therefore lies under the condemnation of God; but God gives men grace by which they are enabled to serve Him, and without this grace even virtue is of no avail. By the power of the *λόγος* God will raise the just man, and bring him near to Himself in heaven. There are three ways to the higher life—*ἀσκήσεις*, *διδαχὴ* and *φύσεις*. Those who follow the first way are engaged in a perpetual strife and struggle; the second is that of instruction, which Philo finds in the ordinary elements of Greek education—grammar, music, geometry, rhetoric and dialectic. These two ways are described, in terms suggestive of St. Paul, as respectively 'milk for babes' and 'strong meat.' He who follows the highest way—that of 'nature' (*φύσεις*) experiences peace, and the joy of resignation, and being pure in heart he enjoys the beatific vision of God, though he sees Him only as through a glass (*ὥσπερ διὰ κατόπτρου*). Philo also uses such terms as 'hungering and thirsting after the good and noble,' 'hungering after the noble life,' 'being a slave of God.' He also speaks of the 'true riches' (*ἀληθινὸς πλοῦτος*); and says that there be 'few who find' the true way of life, (I. 488 165; II. 198. 425).

*Jowett's *Epistles of St. Paul*, II. 413.

Besides the four virtues of Plato and the Stoics, Philo mentions the three graces of hope, repentance, and righteousness ; and he has also a second triad of faith, hope and love, which are the fairest graces of the pious soul, the greatest being love. But though Philo warns his readers against lip-service and superstition, calling faith ' the most beautiful and blameless sacrifice,' he never surrenders his belief in the perpetual obligation of the Jewish ceremonial law, and he accepts the popular belief in ransom and sacrifice.

The parallels between Philo and the New Testament which have just been cited are too striking to be accidental. Similar parallels could easily be multiplied. As Siegfried has shown in his *Philo von Alexandria* (Jena : Hermann Dufft, 1875), there are striking resemblances between Philo and many of the New Testament writers, both in method and in matter. Time forbids us to follow these out in detail, but a summary of the results of such a comparison may be given.

In his epistles St. Paul employs some of the canons of interpretation accepted by Philo. One of these canons was, that Scripture is not to be taken in a literal sense, when it expresses something that is unworthy of the perfection of God's nature. Applying this principle to Exod. xxii 26,* Philo says that by the ' raiment ' there referred to is to be understood the λόγος as the protector and guardian of man. Unless we so interpret the command, he argues, we suppose Moses to be laying down a law about a very trivial matter. Does the Creator and Ruler of the universe concern himself about such trifles ? The same sort of objection and the same kind of interpretation is applied by St. Paul in explanation of Deut. xxv, 4. " Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." This cannot mean, argues the Apostle, that God is careful of the ox, and hence we must understand it as a command to the Christian churches to support their teachers.

Again, in the allegorical method special significance was attached to the use of the *singular* number. In Gen. xvii, 16, a promise is made to Abraham that he should have a son by Sarah.

*"If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it to him by that the sun goeth down : For that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin : wherein shall he sleep ? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear ; for I am gracious."

Why is only *one* child promised? To indicate the truth, answers Philo, that 'the good' is not in number, but in power. St. Paul employs similar reasoning in Gal. iii, 16. In Gen. xxii, 18, Abraham is told: "In thy seed (*σπέρμα*) shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The Apostle's comment is: "He saith not, And to thy *seeds*, as of many, but as of *one*, And to thy *seed*, which is Christ."

So, speaking of the 'rock' that followed the Israelites in the wilderness, Philo says: "That 'rock,' employing elsewhere a name signifying the same thing, he calls 'manna,' the eldest *λόγος* of all things." Similarly, St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. 2; "They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them; and that 'rock' was Christ." As Philo interprets the 'raiment,' the 'rock' and the 'manna' to be metaphors for the *λόγος*, so St. Paul explains the 'seed' and the 'rock' to be Christ. There is therefore no doubt that the Apostle employs the same method as Philo.

It is generally additted that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has come under the influence of Alexandrian culture, and therefore, as we should expect, he freely employs the allegorical method. Thus he sets aside the literal meaning when it contains something contradictory; like Philo he draws an inference from the silence of scripture; he bases conclusions upon the meaning of a word, and upon its etymological signification.

Besides this agreement in method, there are many similarities between Philo and New Testament writers in metaphors, general modes of expression and in ideas. Are we, then, to conclude that the New Testament writers have borrowed from Philo? That would be a very rash inference. The truth rather is, that both were under the influence of widely diffused modes of thought and expression. As to the exegetical canons common to both, we have to remember that these were not peculiar to Alexandrian writers. Orthodox Jewish writers to a certain extent practised the same method of interpretation, and, in the case of St. Paul, this is sufficient to explain his use of that method. We have further to remember that "in the Pharisaic theology there are already Hellenic elements. Orthodox Judaism could not escape from the influences which arose from the victory of the Greeks over the East. The peoples who inhabited the eastern shores of the Mediterranean had a common history from the 4th century B.C.,

and acquired similar convictions.”* When, therefore, Judaism and Hellenism are contrasted, we have to remember that Judaism already to a certain extent lives in the atmosphere of Greek modes of thought and expression. “There is not,” as Harnack says, “a single New Testament writing, which does not betray the influence of the mode of thought and general culture which resulted from the Hellenizing of the East. Indeed, this is shown by the use of the Greek translation of the Old Testament. We may even say, that the Gospel itself is historically unintelligible, so long as we regard it as an exclusive product of Judaism which is no way affected by any foreign spirit. But, on the other hand, it is just as evident, that *specific* Greek ideas neither form the presupposition of the Gospel nor of the principal New Testament writings. The writers of the New Testament breathe the spiritual atmosphere created by Greek culture, . . . but the religious ideas in which they live and move come to them from the Old Testament, and especially from the Psalms and the Prophets.”†

Now, as we have seen, the main ideas of Philo, and his whole mode of thought, are determined by Greek philosophy. We may therefore be certain that, whatever superficial resemblances there are between him and the New Testament writers—and these are neither few nor indefinite—the whole spirit and view of life is fundamentally different. The distinction is not due merely to the acceptance by the Christian writers of Jesus as the Messiah, but it extends to the whole of the conceptions which made Christianity a new power in the world. There is only one New Testament writer who was certainly acquainted with the writings of Philo, or at least with the main ideas which those writings express—the writer of the Fourth Gospel; and in him the antagonism is more fundamental than in any other writer. Whether the Fourth Gospel was written by the Apostle John, or by a disciple of his—and modern criticism has shown that there is no conclusive evidence against the authorship—it is certain that it was a conscious rejection of the Philonic conception of the *λόγος*. But, in other writings, as *e.g.* the epistles of St. Paul and St. James and the epistle to the Hebrews, the antagonism is none the less marked because it is less conscious. The really important result

*Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*: I, 55.

†*Ibid* I. 47.

of a comparison of Philo and the New Testament is therefore that it enables us to see more clearly the unique character of Christianity, and to separate from it the accidents of its expression, whether these were due to modes of thought predominantly Jewish or predominantly Greek. The spirit of Christianity is certainly not dependent upon the earthen vessel in which it was contained. On the other hand, it would be a grave mistake to assume that we can remove from Christianity all the elements which may be called theological, and narrow it down to simple faith in the Lord Jesus. Simple faith in the Lord Jesus is no doubt all that is essential to individual salvation ; but it is not all that is essential to the regeneration of the world. The teaching of our Lord contained implicitly a complete system of theology ; and when St. Paul and the New Testament writers sought to set forth this system explicitly, they were only seeking to supply a fundamental need of the human spirit. The question rather is, whether the first form in which the system of ideas which the Master expressed in all their freshness and living force was not unduly narrowed by the want of categories adequate to express it. There is, indeed, no *opposition* between the New Testament writers and the Master, but there is undoubtedly a difference in the mode of statement ; and it is a very narrow and indefensible view which would insist that we are bound by the form of the disciples and may neglect the larger truth of the Master. Let us, then, begin by a comparison of St. Paul and Philo.

The centre of all St. Paul's life and thought was his absolute faith that Christ had revealed himself to him, that the Gospel was the revelation of the crucified and risen Christ, and that God had called him to proclaim this gospel to the world. Those three ideas were in the consciousness of the Apostle absolutely inseparable from one another. If Christ had not revealed himself to him, there was no foundation for his faith ; if the gospel was not the revelation of the crucified and risen Christ, there was no new revelation ; and if he had not himself become the medium of this new revelation he had no call to proclaim the gospel to others. In this new consciousness consisted his conversion and his whole life was determined by it. In this faith he was conscious of having undergone a complete revolution in his whole being. His attitude towards others was there-

fore completely changed. He was no longer a Jew, but a 'new man in Christ Jesus,' and therefore all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, were related to one another and to God in an identical way. That being so, his mission was to lead the Jew beyond the limits of Judaism, and to bring the Gentile to a consciousness of his true relation to God and his fellow-men. The crucified and risen Christ was not only the central principle of his theology, but the ruling principle in his life and thought. The Christ was not the man, Jesus of Nazareth, who had been exalted by God to a position beyond that of ordinary humanity, but the mighty personal spiritual being, who had humiliated himself for a time, and had destroyed the world of the law, of sin and of death, and who as spirit worked in the souls of believers. Hence for him theology was the doctrine of the liberating power of the spirit of Christ, operative in all the concrete relations of human life and of human need. Christ who has overcome the law, sin and death, *lives* as spirit and through his spirit in believers, who therefore do not know him according to the flesh. He is a creative power of life for those who from faith in his saving death on the cross allow him to work in their souls, *i.e.* to be justified. Life in the spirit, which is the result of union with Christ, will at last reveal itself also in the body, not in the flesh. Looking back at the past, St. Paul regarded theology as the doctrine of the abolition of the Law. He therefore, views the old in the light of the Gospel, maintaining that it has been done away by Christ. Hence the proofs from scripture are merely introduced in support of his inner convictions. These revolve around the idea, that the true meaning of the Law, of sin and of death is only revealed in their abolition. By the law the law is destroyed, in sinful flesh sin is overcome, through death death is conquered.

The historical view of St. Paul is set forth in the relation of Christ to Adam and Abraham, and to the Law of Moses; it looks forward to the time, when God shall be all in all, after Christ has 'put all things under his feet'; and to a time when the prophecies given to the Jewish people shall be fulfilled in the salvation of all Israel. The doctrine of Christ in St. Paul starts from the confession of the primitive church, that Christ as a heavenly being and as Lord of the living and the dead is with the Father. His theology does not rest upon the historical

Christ, but upon the pre-existent Christ, the 'man from heaven,' who in self denying love made himself flesh, in order to destroy the power of nature and death ; but he refers to the works and the life of the historical Christ as the pattern for all men of life in the spirit.

In controverting Christian opponents, who sought to combine the gospel of the crucified Christ with the 'righteousness by works,' St. Paul makes use of arguments and even of ideas borrowed from the Pharisaic theology ; and he employs the exegetical method practised by Pharisaic theologians, as well as by Alexandrian writers. But the dialectic in regard to the law, circumcision and sacrifice does not form the central source of his inspiration, but is merely the outer body of his doctrine. St. Paul is the highest product of the Jewish spirit as transformed by the creative power of the spirit of Christ. Pharisaism had fulfilled its mission in producing a man of this type, and was henceforth dead. In a measure St. Paul shares the Hellenic spirit, but this spirit he imbibed, not from the direct influence of Hellenic writers, but from his Pharisaic training. In his mission to the Gentiles he had the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with the Greek translation of the Old Testament, considerable skill in handling the Greek tongue, and an insight into the spiritual life of the Greeks. His great power, however, lay in his gospel of the *spiritual* Christ. This gospel he could express in modes of thought comprehensible to the Greek mind. In his Apologetics he even turns to his purposes the philosophical doctrines of the Greeks, though it cannot be shown that he had a direct acquaintance with Greek literature and philosophy. Thus he prepares the way for the diffusion of the gospel in the Greek and Roman world. But this in no way affects his central doctrine of *salvation*, which was neither Jewish nor Gentile, but universal.

Now, when we consider that the centre of all St. Paul's ideas is faith in the crucified and risen Christ, we see at once that his whole conception of life differs from that of Philo. Both, indeed, speak of the 'heavenly man,' but their point of view is diametrically opposite. The 'heavenly man' of Philo is not a person, but an abstract archetype: it is the divine pattern in the divine mind after which individual men are formed. But this archetype

could never possibly be realised in any individual man. St. Paul, on the other hand, finds in the crucified and risen Christ, the manifestation of the Son of God. Whereas Philo's 'Son of God' is merely the divine mind in operation, St. Paul finds in Christ the true Son of God, who humbled himself by appearing in the flesh, and who thereby revealed the innermost nature of God. Whereas in Philo God remains in his own nature absolutely inscrutable, St. Paul sees in the crucified and risen Christ the manifestation of the infinite love of God. This is no mere superficial distinction: it is the fundamental note of Christianity, which distinguishes it from all other religions.—And as St. Paul's conception of the Son of God differs *toto caelo* from Philo's, so his conception of salvation is fundamentally different. The salvation of man for Philo was conceived to lie in the illumination of the mind by a philosophical conception of God, and obedience to the law of reason. Thus, it was the narrow way open only to the cultured few. St. Paul's way of salvation was open to all. No distinction of Jew or Gentile, cultured or uncultured, free man or slave, could separate a man from union with God through the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ in him. Philo no doubt liberated himself from the prepossession that only the Jew was capable of salvation, but he only got rid of this national limit to fall into the Greek idea of a limit in human nature arising from an intellectual defect. And further, while Philo conceives of all men as capable of goodness, he also regards the law of Moses as binding upon all men. Thus he is limited in two ways: on the one hand, the man of culture alone is capable of salvation, and, on the other hand, the Jewish ceremonial law is not temporary but eternal. St. Paul, on the other hand, as he bases his doctrine upon a faith of which all men are capable, so he sweeps away the whole ceremonial law, viewing it as merely temporary. The universalism of Philo was no true universalism; that of Paul was based upon the fundamental sinfulness of all men, and the possibility of salvation through faith in the love of God. We can thus understand how Philo's doctrine had no influence beyond the schools, while Christianity turned the world upside down. The more we reflect upon the doctrine of Philo, the more clearly we see that it was impotent to regenerate the race. And even as an abstract creed, it was merely a combination of discrepant

ideas. There is, in his theory, no real manifestation of God. The inscrutable Being, who cannot be in any way defined, is little better than the deification of Nothing. His *λόγος*, viewed on its higher side, is but the hypostatizing of abstract ideas; and, on its lower side, it does not take us beyond the idea of an abstract law which operates beyond, but not in, the spirit of man. Thus, from either point of view, it has no more potency than an abstract law of nature. St. Paul, on the other hand, has grasped the principle of the self-manifestation of God, and the possibility of the regenerated man living in the spirit of the Son of God. Thus, in his doctrine, we are dealing with the actual manifestation of God, and with the living principle operative in the souls of men.

When we compare Philo with the writer of the fourth gospel we find the same superficial resemblance, and the same fundamental opposition.

(1) We have seen how Philo affirms the absolute incomprehensibility of God. "Though God is by nature visible, no man has seen Him." This language naturally suggests the similar statement in the fourth gospel (i, 18), "No man hath seen God at any time." By the false method of assuming that similarity of statement is a proof of borrowing, it may be argued that St. John was indebted to Philo for his conception of the invisibility of God. Now, not to mention that Philo's conception of the incomprehensibility and invisibility of God had taken a firm hold both of Palestinian and Alexandrian writers before Philo, it is easy to see that, in words which are almost identical, the two writers are expressing a totally different idea. In the passage where Philo speaks of the invisibility of God, he goes on to say that "the cause lies in the weakness of the creature," *i. e.* in the 'imbecility of the human intellect,' to use the phraseology of Sir William Hamilton. It is thus a limit in the human intelligence which, in Philo's view, prevents us from comprehending the nature of God; and he adds that "we must become God—which is impossible—before we can comprehend God." But no such doctrine is suggested by the gospel writer. After saying that "no man hath seen God at any time," he adds: "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." What the writer has in his mind is that prior to the revelation of God by Jesus Christ, the Father was in his full nature un-

known to man, but is now revealed as He truly is. That this is his meaning is evident from the words immediately preceding ; " For the Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." The contrast is therefore between the Law and the Gospel ; and the fundamental thought is, that God, whose true nature had been hidden, is now revealed as a God of love. No doubt the gospel writer holds by the thought of the spirituality of God, but in his view God is not hidden but revealed. There is, in truth, nothing in the New Testament to countenance the doctrine of the absolute incomprehensibility of God, and theologians who interpret such passages in an agnostic sense do violence to its whole spirit. " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God " is the utterance of the living Christian consciousness, not a dogmatic proposition ; but it is incompatible with any theology which sets up an impassable barrier between God and man. If theology is to remain Christian, it must discard this fiction of an absolutely incomprehensible God. It may, in fact, be doubted whether we have yet had a theology which has been able to provide a completely reasoned basis for the Christian consciousness of a self-manifesting God. Nothing is more melancholy than the present tendency of theological speculation to fall back upon the self-contradictory doctrine of an unknowable God.

Philo then, as we see, so far from anticipating the Christian idea of God, merely expresses the conception current in his day among his countrymen. And it is significant that, in defending his preconception of the inscrutability of God, he employs the dualistic modes of thought which he had learned from his Greek teachers. The false abstraction of an incomprehensible God on the one side, has as its complement the equally false abstraction of formless matter on the other side ; so that God is not the creative source of all things, but merely the Architect who fashions the world. Thus the very writer who imagines that he exalts God by declaring Him to be incomprehensible, falls back upon the analogy of a human artist when he attempts to explain the creation of the world. This defect also still infects much of our current speculation. It is still supposed that the relation of God to the world may be conceived after the manner of an external artificer ; a view which rests upon the blasphemous notion of the independent existence of the material world.

(2) The *λόγος* is conceived by Philo as, on the one hand, the Thought of God, and, on the other hand, the expression of this Thought in the visible universe; and this Word is represented as the 'instrument' by which the cosmos is formed. When we turn to the fourth gospel we read: "In the beginning was the *λόγος*, and the *λόγος* was with God, and the *λόγος* was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were by Him (*δι' αὐτοῦ*), and without Him was not anything made that hath been made." The two modes of statement have undoubtedly the strongest resemblance. But there are fundamental differences. According to Philo the *λόγος* is not identical with God, but is a product of his self-activity. Thus the *λόγος* is not a complete counterpart of the infinite energy of God; nor, strictly speaking, is it an expression of what God in His inner nature is, but only an effect, distinct and separate from Him. Philo, in short, applies the conception of external causation to express the relation between God and the *λόγος*. On the basis of his dualism, the *λόγος* cannot be identical with God, because God is absolutely self-contained and therefore cannot be expressed. Now, St. John gives us a very different view. Holding that God is essentially self-manifesting, he employs the current term *λόγος* to express this idea. The *λόγος* is said to be at once 'with God' and to 'be God.' Thus the absolute identity of God and the *λόγος* is affirmed, while yet the *λόγος* is distinguished from God. This can only mean that God manifests himself *as He is* in the *λόγος*. It is, then, in this sense that he speaks of the *λόγος* or *Word*. There can be no doubt that he makes use of the current Hellenistic metaphor implied in the double meaning of the term *λόγος*, but he adapts it to the expression of the new conception of God as self-manifesting. Thus his conception of the *λόγος* has an entirely different meaning from that of Philo. God's inner nature is fully manifested in the *λόγος*, who is not the product of God, but is God himself. The mechanical conception of God as a cause distinct from the *λόγος* is set aside, and for it is substituted the conception of God as the eternal self-manifesting God, or, in a word, of God as spirit.

Philo holds that the *λόγος* was the 'instrument' by which the visible world was created; and he expressly compares the world to a vast temple or city, explaining that the *λόγος* was the instru-

ment by which the four elements and their various compounds have been formed. St. John also speaks of the *λόγος* as that through which the world has been made, and so far he seems to be expressing the same idea as Philo. But there is this important difference; that as the *λόγος* is identical with God, it is God as the *λόγος* who has 'made the world.' Further, the world is not 'made' in the sense of being 'formed' out of a 'matter' already existing, but is brought into being absolutely.

(3) In Philo, the *λόγος* conceived as the Thought of God is distinct from the *λόγος* as the *Word*. The latter is the order and harmony of creation and providence. There is no such distinction in St. John. For him the Word is the expression of God himself, and it is to the direct agency of God as the *λόγος* that all created things owe their existence. Thus, from whatever point of view we compare them, we find that Philo and St. John, while using the same term, give it an entirely different meaning. At the same time, it is obvious that the metaphor of the *Word* is only a metaphor, and that the fundamental idea which it is employed to express is that God has revealed himself as He is in the knowable universe, or rather in his Son. JOHN WATSON.

PLANT SOCIOLOGY.

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN ECOLOGY.

THERE can be little doubt that the first botanist was the first man. His interest in plants was largely gastronomic; but in his discussions with his offspring, and with the other fauna of his neighborhood, he was fortunate if he had a weapon with many spiral ducts in its vascular bundles. When botanical knowledge had been enriched by the decease of those who ate "not wisely but too well" of the wrong plant, we find that a

few species were set aside as useful, wholesome, and to be encouraged. The great mass of outsiders were considered with a view to their effect on ailing friends or too vigorous enemies. Later came the laudable attempt to classify all sorts, and so pigeonhole them for ready reference. In connection with this object we find the collecting mania to have developed, until for many years one aim of the botanists seems to have been to reduce to the condition of more or less libellous mummies, a large number of specimens of every plant beneath the sun.

Then the increased perfection of the microscope gave the laboratory botanist his opportunity, and for the last twenty years we have been trying to get at the true inwardness of every part of every kind of plant. The life processes are also being investigated in the physiological laboratories of all well-equipped colleges, so that we may reasonably hope soon to know the conditions best fitted for the wellbeing of the silent toilers, which so patiently manufacture our food. In connection with this branch of botany there is yet much to be done by all of us who are so fortunate as to have taste and opportunity for walks afield.

We may with profit ask ourselves the following questions :

What are the characteristic plants of each well defined plant society ;—of the shore, of the marsh, of the swamp, of the meadow, of the forest, of the rocky ridge, of the sand dune ?

What are the conditions to be met and conquered in each environment ?

What peculiarities in structure or habit have placed each plant in one of the above societies ?

These are but leaders of an army of questions that suggest themselves, and we may have no fear that our answers will exhaust the subject. This paper will be a brief attempt to suggest a few of the conditions met with in ordinary country districts, and to note a few answers that may be tentatively put forward to meet the innumerable " Why's " with which the subject bristles.

All that we can undertake is to study the characteristic plants of an area with respect to their adaptations. These adaptations are :—for and against light ; for protection ; for reproduction,—in connection with the chief factors of environment, which are light, heat, water, soil, wind, animals, other plants, and

topography or drainage. We shall refer to the plants growing under a similar set of the above conditions as a plant society. For convenience, those forming the marsh and swamp society are called hydrophytes; the society of medium or meadow conditions, mesophytes; the dry sand dune or rocky desert group, xerophytes; and the forest plants, hylophytes.

If we visit a small body of open water with muddy bottom, such as a bay or stream, we shall find, first, submerged rooting plants, typical aquatics, for example, Hornwort, Myriophyllum, Water Crowfoots, Beggar Ticks, etc. The conditions which threaten their existence are:—small exposure to light and carbon dioxide, and great liability to destruction from the motion of the water in waves or currents. The dissection of the leaves into cylindrical threads offers the greatest surface possible for exposure to the weak light which penetrates the water, and for the absorption of gaseous food. In connection with the long, flexible, buoyant stems, such leaves also present the condition least likely to offer resistance to water movements. In the second place are the floating plants. Among these will be usually Spirogyra, Cladophora, and Spirodela. Like the rooted plants, these offer little resistance to the movements of the water, and by their thinness afford all parts sufficient light exposure. Thirdly, we find rooted weeds, partly above and partly under water. They may include Pond Weeds, Wild Celery, Bullrushes, Cat-tail, Arrowleaf, Mud Plantain, etc. When these bear submerged leaves they are of the small, or dissected, or very thin types above noted, while the floating leaves are broad and entire. The latter serve to float the blossom for insect pollination.

The genus *Potamogeton* illustrates excellently the truth that in classification we must attach most importance to the structure of the flower, and little to the structure of other organs. All other organs are subservient to the support of the flower, and change with the endless variations of condition, with a tendency, however, to become similar in all kinds of plants under similar conditions. The flower being independent of the struggle for food, may remain constant in structure, except as modified for fertilization; and such modification will probably be somewhat uniform within similar latitudes and similar regions of insect distribution. There is a remarkable tendency among plants that are partly

submerged, to modify the vegetative organs into either broad, entire, floating structures, or into narrow, cylindrical, erect leaves or leafstems. When Arrowleaf grows on land or in shallow water, with the leaves completely emerging, these leaves are broad and halberd-shaped ; but when growing in deep water with leaves largely submerged, they are narrow ; and a perfect gradation exists—coinciding with the extent of leaf emergence,—between this cylindrical petiole-like structure, and the widely expanded leaf.

No one can have looked long at a large growth of water plants without having been impressed with their erectness and narrowness. Rushes, Cat-tails, Blue Flag, Wild Rice and Sweet Flag are all characterized by a similar habit. And this habit persists throughout that most successful and useful family,—the grasses. The Rush occupies a place in two plant societies—the wettest and the driest—ponds and sand-dunes. Has the habit of growth anything to do with this strange distribution ? We may notice that all these erect plants above mentioned are of social growth, reproducing vegetatively, and a good light supply is best secured, in crowded clusters, by narrowness and erectness of members. But protection from extreme heat and light are often required by this style of plant. The cylinder is the plant form which, next to the sphere, gives greatest mass with least surface for evaporation. The same result is obtained by the grasses, which possess to a marked degree the power of reducing their surface in time of great heat by rolling their leaves into cylinders. Again, the conditions surrounding a plant rising above the surface of water are not unlike those endured by the plants of the sand dune. We know that from direct and reflected light and heat, and from the sweep of the wind, the transpiration from such a position must be excessive, hence a thick epidermis and a cylindrical shape may best serve both locations. This same wind-force may have also, to some extent, fashioned the narrow ribbon-like foliage.

The zonal arrangement of the plants in and on the margin of ponds is noteworthy. In the deeper water we have White and Yellow Water Lilies, then a circle of the rushes, next Cat-tail and Pickerel weed. A pond of stagnant water will show many of the same characteristics, with the addition of many more floating

plants, as Bladderwort and Riccia. They are here because of protection from water currents and strong wind movements. Although true aquatics, they must *float* in stagnant water because of the lack of oxygen which is more readily absorbed by moving water, and which would here be used up by the decaying organic matter always present. The Charas, however, remain at the bottom. Are they able to do with little oxygen, and why? We should also note the great plasticity that is shown in the fact of many of the above plants developing entire leaves above water, and dissected leaves below. This is decided just at the time of leaf development, and depends, not on heredity, but on the temporary depth of the water.

Our glance at this extremely interesting society has been directed only toward a few of the conspicuous forms and problems. We must always remember that innumerable company which we estimate per cubic yard of water,—the Diatomaceae, Desmidiaceae, and microscopic algae generally, which form such an attractive background, and whose simpler forms may aid us greatly in the study of adaptations. We have also ignored that huge group of lithophytes,—the Seaweeds. Why are the more deeply submerged Seaweeds red, and those of shallower water yellow or brown? Why is the under side of the foliage leaves of Nymphaeae purplish, and the same with the little Spirodela? Why do not Arrowleaf, Pickerel Weed, Water Lilies and Water Plantain develop narrow leaves?

The aid of the microscope is essential to the study of very many of the adaptations, and we find that external conditions produce deep-seated changes. The thin-walled epidermis of submerged plants, lacking stomata, but allowing absorption through all the parts, will be accompanied by corresponding reduction in vascular tissues and in root development. Support by the water will result in small amount of supporting tissue, and often in the development of air cavities. The reduced light results also in a comparatively feeble development of green tissue.

These hydrophytes are the most cosmopolitan of plants, being practically the same on all the different continents. They are of few families, but many in numbers, probably because water gives the most uniform conditions and the greatest chance for dissemination.

We find that monocotyledons predominate among hydrophytes. The Engler-Prantl classification of plants places Screw Pines, Cat-tail and Bur-reed in the lowest class of monocotyledons. Next come the pondweeds, Water Plantain, etc.; and in the third group, the grasses and sedges. We cannot avoid the decision that our hydrophytes are largely made up of the lowest classes of monocotyledons. Geology seems to show that the primitive plant conditions were decidedly hydrophytic. It is possible that we are here studying persisting types of the first families, whose more progressive members,—the grasses, lilies and orchids,—have climbed out and become somewhat mesophytic.

A study of the same hydrophytic district year after year will show us that a slow migration is going on among the reed-like hydrophytes. Their body habit is such that they must root firmly in uncertain soil. As a result secondary roots are sent out in great numbers. Their erect, wand-like forms allow close social growth, so we find them rising from a mat of interlaced roots. Upon the dead and decaying roots new plants spring up, so here among the reeds and sedges we find the great turf-builders. The roots hold the silt from the land, and thus produce a soil in which true hydrophytes will not flourish, but which is peculiarly suitable to what may be called hydro-mesophytes, producing a swamp-meadow. Here grow Cat-tails, Sedges, Spike-rush, Cut-grass, Barnyard Grass, Water Crowfoot, Smartweeds, Nasturtium, etc. By these the shore line is gradually pushed forward, and shallow lakes and ponds become swamp meadows, and, in time, swamp thickets, and even forests. The swamp meadow plants are vegetable amphibians, from the fact that in the dry season their relationship to water is very greatly changed. Among them we may well look for plastic forms and wonderful adaptations. The characteristic mosses of the rich soil of the swamp meadow are the Hypnum.

The thought of the mosses of swamp moors at once calls up that very characteristic form known as Sphagnum bog. Why have we great extents covered by this moss, often with scattered tamaracks and black spruce, but with a class of plants altogether different from those of the ordinary swamp meadow? The Cotton-grass on the margin, the Bog Orchids,—*Microstylis*, *Arethusa*, *Calopogon* and *Pogonia*; the Sundews, the Pitcher-plant

and the Heaths make a group well known and beloved by all field botanists. But why do these plants always occur together, and why, with apparently similar water content, does this soil exclude the ordinary swamp flora? Probably because of the lack of drainage. The peaty soil is found to be extremely poor in potash salts and nitrates. No nitrifying bacteria are found, and practically none of the bacteria of decay. The peat is antiseptic, and animal and plant forms are here embalmed. The supply of nitrogen must be obtained by other than ordinary means, and, as a result, this is the home of many of the carnivorous plants. The heaths and orchids are found to be largely saprophytic, and many of the remainder are nourished by root fungi. These plants, while standing in either visible or invisible water, are subject to xerophytic conditions, in so far as aerial parts are concerned, and with the usual result of narrow thickened leaves with very dense epidermis, and hairy, scaly or woolly protection. But our explanations do not explain. Why are these, rather than others, the plants for these conditions, and have we considered all the important features of the environment? The question is with you.

Let us now leave conditions of excessive moisture, and consider a forest growing in a river valley. We have the optimum condition of plenty of humus, sufficiency of water and protection, and good drainage. As a result we find the climax of our flora, the giant expression of the plants which we find elsewhere under different conditions. The only disadvantage is lack of light, which would encourage a luxuriant undergrowth. This undergrowth is absent, so far as perennials are concerned, except the lianas. Poison Ivy here becomes a very vigorous climber, as do Wild Grape and Cat Briar, often reaching fifty feet from the soil in their efforts to get light. The herbs which can succeed here are those which rise very quickly from tubers, corms or bulbs, and complete most of their vegetative work before the trees reach full leafage. The trees themselves develop large leaves in order to bring all possible chlorophyll to the best position for light.

Assuming that herbaceous monocotyledons were the primitive forms of plants, the question rises as to what set of conditions would produce a forest. The height may be the result of

luxuriant growth, due to excellent conditions of humus, water, and protection, such as are found in a river valley. Each plant would require to rise high to compete for light on equal terms with its neighbour. With the rapid vegetative growth, and lack of threatening conditions, there would be associated retarded seed production, and the plants would tend to become biennials and perennials. The increasing height would demand mechanical structure equal to the task of supporting it; so the woody trunk would be evolved. Reasoning in this way, the river valley would seem to be the cradle of forests. One objection may be urged,—that lignification is usually the result of trying conditions,—excessive heat and exposure to high winds. The whole question is on the table.

Leaving the forest shades we find a new army of plants ready for inspection on the level prairie. Typical forms are the Rosin Weeds, the Sunflowers, the Golden Rods, the Lead Plant, the Bush Clovers, the Prairie Clovers, the Spurges, the Asters, the Prairie Rose, the Green Milkweeds, the Grasses, the Wild Onion, the Low Willow and Grey Willow, Spiderwort, Tumble Weed, and hundreds of others at other seasons.

The ecological conditions to be met by the prairie flora are :

(1) Absence of trees and shade ; (2) Dryness of soil from scanty rainfall ; (3) Small quantity of humus ; (4) Strong winds ; (5) Strong sunlight ; (6) Extremes of heat and cold.

To meet these conditions we find that the above mentioned plants have developed various characteristics. Rosin Weeds, Sunflowers, Golden Rods and Asters are protected by strong, coarse texture, with thick epidermis, and have, as also has the Tumbleweed, very adequate means of seed dispersion by wind. The Leguminosae—Lead Plant, Bush Clovers, Prairie Clovers—are not only pubescent, but in addition possess a remarkable power of leaf movement. These characteristics have doubtless much influence in making this family one of the most successful in all conditions throughout the world. An interesting question is the value of the latex of Milkweed and Spurges in enabling these plants, with thin epidermis and no pubescence, to resist the tendency to excessive transpiration. The narrow erect leaves of the grasses, cuticularized and curling, have been mentioned before. The water condition is so delicately balanced on

the prairie that a lowering or elevation of a few inches will introduce a different flora. We find the lower levels inhabited by the succulent Spiderwort and Wild Onion, while the margins of the hollows will be thickly covered with Rosin Weed.

The long-debated question—the reason for absence of trees on prairies—still calls for investigation. It appears probable that a forest is the last society of plants to appear on a piece of soil. The absence of trees may then be both a cause and a result. If a region be so open and exposed as to afford a great sweep to drying winds, trees could scarcely get started, and if they did so, would be destroyed by the annual fires.

An extremely interesting study of rapid adaptation to changing conditions may be found by visiting the sand dunes, such as occur in Prince Edward county and along the east shore of Lake Huron, in Lambton and Huron counties.

Dunes are always caused by the prevailing wind sweeping over water or level land. The sand is usually picked up from the beach, having been separated from the soil by the action of water. As the wind sweeps inland loaded with sand, it loses its energy and velocity, and drops its burden. Obstacles, such as plants or rocks, may cause the sand to drop at first, then the pile of sand itself becomes an obstacle, and the dune grows and advances. It becomes a moving body of sand—not moving in mass, but with a surface flow. The side of the dune facing the prevailing wind has a gentle slope, up which the sand is urged. The advancing side, or lee side, is a slope as steep as sand will lie—between 30 and 35 degrees.

Approaching the dunes from the water side, we note first the submerged plants anchored to rock,—the lithophytic algae *Cladophora*, *Draparnaldia*, *Ulothrix*, etc. Besides there are *Elodea* and many Pond-weeds. Just above the edge of the water we find a zone entirely devoid of plant life. The conditions are too severe for even the most hardy vegetable adventurers. Alternate submergence and emergence, buffetings by wind and wave, exposure to extremes of light and heat and cold,—all these conditions combined have blighted the hopes of the many waifs—spores or buds or seeds constantly cast up by the waves. Occasionally, in favourable weather, an alga may grow luxuriantly for several days, but the next storm purges this play-

ground of the waves of all such interlopers. Just beyond the reach of summer storms we find Sea Rocket, which is everywhere the first to root in the beach sand. Closely associated with it are Bug Seed, Spurge and Tumble Weed, with an occasional *Cnicus Pitcheri*, and the Russian Thistle just coming in. No biennial or perennial can survive the winter storms which reach this zone, but we shall find them constantly venturing upon it in the forms of Wormwood, Winter Scouring Rush, Sand Cherry and Cottonwood Seedlings.

Beyond this we reach the ground upon which dunes grow, and we find them of all sizes, from a few inches in height and length to those stretching inland for miles, and reaching sixty to eighty feet high at the crest. In order that a plant may present a persistent obstacle to moving sand, and survive the successive layers which will sweep over it, and will also hold together the sand, so that it may not be drifted, the plant must have the following peculiarities :

- (1) It must be of rapid growth.
- (2) It must be of social growth. No single plant, without vegetable reproduction, could successfully form a dune.
- (3) It must be adapted to xerophytic conditions :—heat, cold, dryness and high winds.
- (4) It must be of indefinite growth upward, with any part of the stem able to put out root hairs and function as a root, and any part of the root able to do duty as a stem.

The following plants seem best adapted to the above conditions :—

(1) Sea Sand-Reed,—perhaps the best of all dune formers, and used by the Danish Government for this purpose.

(2) *Calamagrostis longifolia* and *Elymus mollis*. These grasses can hold dunes to quite a height, but there seems to be a limit beyond which they cannot obtain the necessary moisture ; then they die, and the dune travels.

(3) *Prunus pumila*. The Sand Cherry is able to hold dunes to the height of fifteen to twenty feet.

(4) *Salix glaucophylla* and *S. adenophylla*. The former the Glossy Willow, must be considered very plastic, as it is often a swamp plant. Its roots are sometimes seen extending from twenty to forty feet on the eroded surface of the dune, and whenever buried will send up leaves.

(5) *Populus monilifera*. The Cottonwood survives in surprising situations. We have found it with thirty feet or more of trunk and branches submerged in sand, and yet the emerging parts were healthy and growing. In another instance the sand had swept from about the base of the tree until ten feet of the roots were laid bare, and still the tree seemed to thrive.

Being slow growers, the pines can scarcely act as dune formers, but if planted and established, they might be able to hold dunes in place better than any of the above mentioned plants. Pines have great power of withstanding trying conditions. Their continuous coat of strongly protected leaves permits them to begin chlorophyll work as soon as the growing season begins, and to continue it in spite of late frosts, which would destroy tender, immature leaves. Their needle shape, sunken stomata, and very thick epidermis afford the pine leaves protection also from strong and drying winds.

Even the moving surface of the dune is not so arid or uncertain as to discourage all plants. Bugseed is found scattered plentifully over many parts. This is an annual, and must therefore have been carried here as seeds. These seeds are very light, and can germinate in about thirty hours. In spring and winter the surface of the dune is wet or covered with ice. If, in the spring, these seeds are allowed favorable conditions for the short time necessary to get their cotyledons above the sand, the plant can defy later storms. As sand drifts over it the stem elongates; while a recession of sand is met by a double bending of the stem, so that the tip rises erect.

At the foot of the advancing slope we can observe what occurs to the plants advanced upon. Here is dynamic evolution. In connection with ordinary adaptations to circumstances we mentally allow the plants ages in which to produce the modifications. Here the change must take place almost before our eyes. If a plant in the path of the sand can make the necessary changes within one season it may survive, otherwise it is doomed.

When a dune advances on a swamp we find, of course, that the great majority of the plants die out at once. As the sand surrounds them, they become a paler green, showing the difficulty with which they do their chlorophyll work. They also seem to blossom most profusely, as if in a despairing attempt to pro-

vide for a continuation of the species. The Buttonbush manages to endure the dune conditions a few years, as also do the Red Osier and Wild Grape. As before mentioned, the Glossy Willow and Glandular Willow take kindly to the dunes. We find that the leaves of the plants are smaller and thicker and much firmer on the dunes than when growing in swamps. All others die and are buried.

On the fixed dunes we notice that the pines succeed the cottonwoods. The latter require mesophytic conditions for germination, but when well started can endure well the dune conditions. They are, however, short-lived, and on the older dunes we find them replaced by pines which germinate in their protection. As the conditions of the older dunes become more mesophytic, the pines are replaced by oaks. When in favorable conditions the oaks can crowd out the pines, owing to their more rapid germination, better spreading power, and less danger of extermination by fire. Within a certain range of conditions, the oak is the stronger, but its range is not nearly that of the pine.

The flora of the fixed dune is a link between that of the moving dune and that of the sand ridge and prairie. The oaks are the Black Oak, the Bur Oak and the White Oak; of the sumachs, the Aromatic Sumach and Poison Ivy; of conifers, the Northern Scrub Pine, Red Cedar and Common Juniper; of heaths, Bearberry and Winter Green; and of grasses, *Andropogon* and *Calamagrostis*. Among the old dunes we find undrained sloughs, and in connection with them, the ordinary hydrophytic and prairie flora.

Nothing has been said with regard to the mesophytic flora except as it is modified for prairie conditions. From our point of view the mesophytic is the normal flora, and as such will not present modifications. Whether this is the correct point of view is a debatable question.

A field that offers many attractions is the study of our weeds as they gradually re-possess themselves of land allowed to become waste. Many other ecological questions of great importance, such as the colour problem connected with flowers, veins, bud scales, spring leaves and autumn leaves, still await scientific observers. Such a paper as this can merely suggest a few points of attack.

The literature of the subject is not yet largely available. We have :—

Kerner, in English, but not altogether reliable.

Pound & Clements' *Phytogeography of Nebraska*—useful, but local.

Warming, in Danish and German, interesting and reliable in the fields covered.

Schimper, in German, a very recent work, and said to be most excellent.

W. T. McCLEMENT.

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Chicago.

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

THE MAN.

THE book of Jeremiah presents a sharp contrast to an orderly systematic treatise such as we find in the writings of the prophet Ezekiel, or the studied climaxes and brilliant aloofness of the book of Amos. Jeremiah's prophecies have come down to us in great confusion, and with numberless repetitions. They bear the marks of many hands. The outward form of the book unintentionally reflects the long and stormy career, the unwearied devotion to duty, and all the chequered experiences of the prophet, whose ministry extended over forty years. When you have read his book through, and re-read it, with an historical clue to the many different situations which it presupposes, what remains with you is certainly not the plain and unpretentious style of the prophet,* not the convulsive history of his times, not the obstinacy of the infatuated citizens of Jerusalem, not even by

*The prophet's description of the drought in c. 14, is a powerful bit of realism; and the Ode of triumph to Nebuchadnezzar, and the Doom of Babylon in c. 50 and 51 (exilic) show a high degree of literary imagination.

themselves the revolutionary and sublimely spiritual doctrines of the book,—not any of these, but the man himself, and the human interest which he possesses for us. That remains. He was the lover of his kind, and that is where his book grips us. His personality looks up from every page of his prophecies. He cannot be hid. In the old story we read that when Joseph was about to make himself known to his brethren, he could not refrain himself. He wept aloud, and said, "Come near unto me I pray you." No more could Jeremiah hold his erring countrymen at a distance, and pound them with the flail of doom, like Amos, the sternly ethical preacher of righteousness, but still the "man without a country." Neither had he the royal carriage, the majestic style, the dominating spirit of Isaiah of Jerusalem. Although he was Isaiah's successor, he was cast in an entirely different mould. He was a man of feeling and action, and his affinity must be sought in the thoughtful, emotional Hosea, whose influence is plainly perceptible in many passages of Jeremiah's prophecies. It has also been noticed that the historical junctures at which they prophesied were similar. For years Hosea felt the sharp sorrow of unanswered appeals to his wayward countrymen, and finally saw Northern Israel carried away on the flood of Assyrian invasion. Jeremiah had a similar heart-breaking experience. For a very much longer period, he pleaded with his people in vain, and finally he was a personal sufferer in the last terrible siege and downfall of Jerusalem. Still Jeremiah's was the harder lot, for when Samaria fell in 722, Hosea could console himself with the knowledge that Judah was spared, but when Jerusalem was reduced to ashes, and the Holy People carried into exile, Jeremiah was thrown upon the spiritual and unseen for support. In that dreadful hour when every earthly prop was removed, he sang of mercy as well as of judgment, and that constitutes his greatness. Both prophets had the same predominantly religious temper, and the same "elegiac bent of mind." Both have the same habit of describing apostacy from the strict righteousness of Javeh as adultery, and both evidently drank in with their mother's milk the ancient traditions and aspirations of Israel.

As has been already remarked, Jeremiah takes us into his confidence with the utmost simplicity of trust. He keeps back

nothing—not a word. His personal confessions begin in the opening paragraph of the book. He was born at Anathoth, a little village, 'about an hour's walk north-east of Jerusalem, and of priestly ancestry. The word of the Lord, announcing his prophetic appointment, came to him in 626, while he was still a very young man, but instead of finding an eager and immediate response, it filled him with alarm. (i, 4 f.) The problem was not solved in a day. His timidity was not conquered with a rush. There must have been a long and strenuous battle in his soul before he was able to say "Amen, O Lord," as he did a few years later, when it became his duty to proclaim the newly-found Book of the Law through the cities of Judah. (c. xi.) How could his retiring nature live in the glare of public life? Where would he get courage and strength to pluck up kingdoms? How could *he* steel his heart against those whom he loved, and become a column of iron and a wall of brass against the kings and priests and all the people of his native land? In after years, when he was beset by mocking unbelievers, who said "Where is the word of the Lord, let it come now," he recalled the hesitation with which he accepted the prophetic office: "As for me, I have not hastened from being a shepherd after thee." (xvii, 16.) It was the beginning of that life-long fierce contention between his own shrinking tender nature and the inspiration of God, which burned in his bones like fire. This is one of the main interests, perhaps the main interest, in Jeremiah's personality. In the end the great debate was concluded, and he went forward to his duty with this high promise of protection ringing in his ears, "And they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee." (i, 19.) Reminding one of St. Paul's victorious challenge, "If God be for us, who is against us?"

It will not be possible to follow the young prophet through his strenuous and pathetic career, except in barest outline. We must imagine him taking his stand at the court of the temple, at the city gates on fast days, entering into the royal chamber, and always with some intense call to king and people alike to amend their ways and their doings. In the first year of Jehoiakim's reign he seized the occasion of some sacred day, when the city was crowded with worshippers from the surrounding cities, and

in words of rebuke that burn to this hour and make us moderns search our hearts with trembling, he exposed the sins that went hand in hand with the most unctuous professions of loyalty to Javeh (vii and xxvi.) Jeremiah was an intensely spiritual teacher and pierced to the root of evil in the heart, "I, the Lord, search the heart, I try the reins." (c. xvii, 9.) Like Christ, he tore the mask of hypocrisy away without counting the cost. But even when he had to whip the abominable vices of the professedly religious with the lash of his wrath, and to announce that the temple would be made like Shiloh, and city a byword to all the nations of the earth, and the fate of Ephraim would become the fate of Judah; even then he was not utterly without hope that the disaster might be averted. (c. xxvi, 3.) He spoke his message, but instead of starting a tide of repentant feeling, it was a challenge to their most sectarian and murderous passions. He had spoken a terrible word that day. It was not merely the scolding reproofs that made the religious people wither. They might have stood that. But it was the word of heresy which goaded them to fury. That class hatred for one who himself steps out of the ranks and rebukes its dead formulas, or denounces its sins by the light of a larger vision, was instantly aroused in the lying prophets and priests when he warned them that every external institution associated with their religion would be leveled to the ground. The mob followed their lead, and the priests and prophets and all the people laid hold on him, saying "Thou shalt surely die." (xxvi.) It was a perilous moment, but the appearance of the soberer secular authority on the scene saved him from violence. He was permitted to speak for himself. At that critical moment there was no cringing, no sophistry, no retraction. He reiterated his words of judgment. He stood there fronting death as calmly as ever St. Paul did in similar circumstances six hundred years afterwards, and said in conclusion, "But as for me, behold, I am in your hand. Do with me as is good and right in your eyes. Only know ye for certain that if ye put me to death ye shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears." An appeal by some of the moderate party to the precedent of Micah, who had uttered

similar prophecies in Hezekiah's reign and was not put to death, saved Jeremiah. This is only one incident out of many in his tumultuous career which serves to show the faithfulness and fortitude of a weak, gentle, shrinking man in the most trying circumstances in which a human being is placed—when he is on trial for his life. One is struck with the calm identification of his doctrine and life with the purpose of God. "He conceives his own personality as absorbed in God." At this juncture the prophet evidently had friends who rallied to his support, but as the edge of his message became keener, and finally lost every glint of hope, many of them forsook him and took sides with the passionate king, who was now drawing down ruin on their heads. During the reign of the spineless Zedekiah Jeremiah appears on the scene almost alone, breaking every hope of a quick return of the first captives, in perpetual struggle with the professional prophets whose personal immorality, visionless hearts, cant and shallow optimism flattered the self-complacency of the people and fed their basest passions. (xxiii, xxviii, xxix.) He entered neither the house of feasting, nor the house of mourning. He formed no domestic ties. "His stern and cheerless life of isolation must express the burden of his message and figure the doom of his people." The companions of his youth at Anathoth conspired against him. Other plots were set on foot in the city. His own relatives gave their voices against him, and when the last darkness settled down on the devoted city which he loved, he was seized as a deserter, branded as a traitor, and finally thrown into a miry cistern to starve. It has been said of him by Stanley that he was through all this the "one grand, immovable figure which alone redeems the miserable downfall of his countrymen from triviality and shame." Israel seemed to be narrowed to himself.

"Among the faithless, faithful only he;
 Among innumerable false, unmoved,
 Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
 Nor number nor example with him wrought
 To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
 Though single."

One thing more. As already hinted, no estimate of Jeremiah's character would be complete which failed to draw attention

to his patriotism as well as to his religion. These two expressions of life were never far separated in the Hebrew consciousness, and in Jeremiah they ran together in the current of his thought. As we have seen, his was a very introspective nature. He looked into his own breast, and analyzed his motives. He knew better than any other prophet before him, how God can single out the individual heart, and speak peace and hope to it apart altogether from its citizenship, or priesthood. He knew that he bore his own burden, and stood alone before God, no matter what reckless path the fated nation may pursue, the nation that despised and rejected him, and made him its laughing stock. What was the temptation of Jeremiah under these circumstances? What would be your temptation and mine? Would it not be "Let these accursed people go. I have done my duty towards them. I will leave them and save my own soul out of the wreck." The prophet tells us that he felt that temptation, and felt it strongly. "Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my people and go from them, for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men" (ix, 2). But you know by the way Jeremiah lingers over the personal pronoun, that he will never desert them. Why not? Because they are "*my* people." That man will go through the last extremities for the sake of his people, and it may be will die under their blows on the hated soil of Egypt, but he will never give them up.

By a grim irony Jeremiah was compelled to oppose the narrow forms of patriotism which were rampant in his day. He had to oppose even the stationary disciples of the great Isaiah, who regardless of changed conditions reiterated his watchword that Zion was inviolable. The temporary form of Isaiah's faith hardened into a permanent creed under the hands of his purblind followers. Jeremiah was consequently denounced as a traitor. To all proposals for revolutions, and new alliances with Egypt, he had only one word to utter—fidelity to the oath of allegiance to Babylon (xxvii: 11, 12). But if any one wishes to know what the prophet's patriotism really meant to him, he must read c. xiv and xv of his book. His bursts of despondency, and even his passionate invocations of vengeance upon his enemies need no explanation. They lay bare the prophet's torn heart. What sympathy he had even for the lowest classes in Jerusalem is shown

by the fact that when he could not find righteousness amongst them, he sought to excuse them, and said, "Surely they are poor! they are foolish; for they know not the way of the Lord, nor the judgment of their God. I will get me unto the great men, for they know the way of the Lord and the judgment of their God" (v : 4). In these two chapters (xiv and xv) his love for his erring countrymen is inexpressibly touching. Like the agony of watching a beloved one flung up on the beach for a brief moment, and then sucked back by the retreating waves, and carried far out to sea, such was the agony of the prophet, as the possibility of national rescue faded from his mind. Stanley and Cheyne have both quoted in this connection the appropriate lines of Keble.

" He had to steel his melting heart,
To act the martyr's sternest part;
To watch with firm, unshrinking eye,
His darling visions as they die."

But it is very hard for Jeremiah to reconcile his heart with the destiny of his country. He feels the solidarity of his people. He is one with them. He cannot abandon them. He presses his intercession for his people upon the Lord, and is refused. He seeks to palliate their sins. He gives voice to their repentance. Again and again he steps forward in their behalf, and "holds his fellow countrymen lovingly in his heart, and endeavors to arrest the arm of God already uplifted to deal on them the destructive blow."* One fears that the human spirit will break under the strain of intercession, but to his final appeal the stern answer is, "though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be turned toward this people. Cast them out of my sight and let them go forth."

Jeremiah has been called by some the "citizen" prophet. It is surely an appropriate title to give him, and a far more comprehensive interpretation of his life than the petty description of him as the "weeping" prophet. If we all had Jeremiah's style of citizenship, if we all labored and prayed in his spirit for the common good, we would need no theological crutch like pre-millennarianism to support our sinking faith, and no economic panacea like single-tax to redeem our own nation, and cleanse the world from sin, for love would be all, and in all.

*Cornill: *Prophets of Israel*.

Outwardly, of course the prophet's life was a failure—the greatest failure in Hebrew prophecy. But if there is any value in fidelity to duty, in self sacrifice, in the contribution to the world of inspirations and ideas which enrich the race, and by which men live and die with greater hope, then Jeremiah's main account is one of the largest known to human history. We may say, if we will, that it should have been different, but that is to forget the doctrine of Jesus, that life is more than meat or raiment. Its highest value lies not in its external accretions, but in itself. The loftiest spirits both in the field of action, and in that of thought, have been guided by the essentially spiritual character of human life, and have known that it was not loss, to love whatsoever things are pure and holy and divine, even unto death. "King Lear" closes with the pathetic scene of Cordelia's death, but her love has dared everything, and has redeemed the king from his boundless imperiousness. His heart was no longer haughty, nor his eyes lofty; his soul was stilled and quieted like a weaned child with his mother. Jeremiah had his compensation. God himself became his comforter. He wiped away his tears. Even as he sat amidst the ruins of his beloved city, when all about him was famine, bloodshed, and unnatural cruelty, the shouts of the besiegers and the thunder of their battering rams against the walls, the shrieks of the dying, fanaticism, all the horrors of war, and all the certainty of destruction and captivity—in the midst of it all he looked up into heaven, and he saw the face of the divine lit up with a glorious purpose for the future of his people Israel. Down the long vista of years he peered, and, Oh, the sight that met his eyes, the sounds that fell upon his ear! The appalling misery, the sin of his people and the roar of the siege were forgotten; the tumult and the shouting died, and in their place he saw waving fields of grain, saw men buying land again in Judah and Jerusalem; heard the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the song of thanksgiving and the peal of the maiden's laughter. He saw a chastened, redeemed and forgiven people, and above the wreck and fierce despair of the siege, he heard the gracious words of the Lord. "Behold I will gather them out of all the countries whither I have driven them in mine anger, and in my fury, and in great wrath; and I will bring them again unto this place, and I will cause them to dwell

safely ; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God : and I will give them one heart and one way that they may fear me forever for the good of them, and of their children after them, . . .yea I will rejoice over them to do them good" (xxxii : 37-44). The prophet's reward was not an earthly one, but it was spiritual and real. He rejoiced in the presence of God as manifested in the history of his race. He was sure that the Lord was watching over Israel still to build and to plant. Nay more, he knew that the nations would come from the ends of the earth to worship Javeh ; that not only was there hope for Israel, but the whole world was compassed about with songs of deliverance (xvi, 19). That was the faith which preserved him from cynicism and despair, and brought peace to his heart through the long days of his suffering career.

Norwich.

JOHN MILLAR.

"THE BEST SEA STORY EVER WRITTEN."

ANYONE who undertakes to reverse some judgment in history or criticism, or to set the public right regarding some neglected man or work, becomes at once an object of suspicion. Nine times out of ten he is called a literary snob for his pains, or a prig who presumes to teach his betters, or a "phrase-monger," or a "young Osric," or something equally soul-subduing. Besides, the burden of proof lies heavy upon him. He preaches to a sleeping congregation. The good public has returned its verdict upon the case, and is slow to review the evidence in favour of the accused, or, having done so, to confess itself in the wrong. Still, difficult as the work of rehabilitation always is, there are cheering instances of its complete success ; notably, the rescue of the Elizabethan dramatists by Lamb and Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt. Nor in such a matter is the will always free. As Heine says, ideas take possession of us and force us into the arena, there to fight for them. There is also the possibility of triumph

to steel the raw recruit against all dangers. Though the world at large may not care, the judicious few may be glad of new light, and may feel satisfaction in seeing even tardy justice meted out to real merit. In my poor opinion much less than justice has been done to an American writer, whose achievement is so considerable that it is hard to account for the neglect into which he has fallen.

This writer is Herman Melville, who died in New York in the autumn of 1891, aged eighty-three. That his death excited little attention is in consonance with the popular apathy towards him and his work. The civil war marks a dividing line in his literary production as well as in his life. His best work belongs to the *ante-bellum* days, and is cut off in taste and sympathy from the distinctive literary fashions of the present time. To find how complete neglect is, one has only to put question to the most cultivated and patriotic Americans north or south, east or west, even professed specialists in the nativist literature, and it will be long before the Melville enthusiast meets either sympathy or understanding. The present writer made his first acquaintance with *Moby Dick* in the dim, dusty Mechanics' Institute Library (opened once a week by the old doctor) of an obscure Canadian village, nearly twenty years ago; and since that time he has seen only one copy of the book exposed for sale, and met only one person (and that not an American) who had read it. Though Kingsley has a good word for Melville, the only place where real appreciation of him is to be found of recent years is in one of Mr. Clark Russell's dedications. There occurs the phrase which gives this paper its title. Whoever takes the trouble to read this unique and original book will concede that Mr. Russell knows whereof he affirms.

Melville is a man of one book, and this fact accounts possibly for much of his unpopularity. The marked inferiority of his work after the war, as well as changes in literary fashion, would drag the rest down with it. Nor are his earliest works, embodying personal experience like *Redburn* and *White Jacket*, quite worthy of the pen which wrote *Moby Dick*. *Omoo* and *Typee* are little more than sketches, legitimately idealized, of his own adventures in the Marquesas. They are notable works in that they are the first to reveal to civilized people the charm of life in the

islands of the Pacific, the charm which is so potent in *Vailima Letters* and *The Beach of Falesà*. Again, the boundless archipelagos of Oceanica furnish the scenes of *Mardi*, his curious political satire. This contains a prophecy of the war, and a fine example of obsolete oratory in the speech of the great chief Alanno from Hio-Hio. The prologue in a whale-ship and the voyage in an open boat are, perhaps, the most interesting parts. None of his books are without distinct and peculiar excellences, but nearly all have some fatal fault. Melville's seems a case of arrested literary development. The power and promise of power in his best work are almost unbounded; but he either did not care to follow them up or he had worked out all his rifts of ore. The last years of his life he spent as a recluse.

His life fitted him to write his one book. The representative of a good old Scottish name, his portrait shows distinctively Scottish traits. The head is the sort that goes naturally with a tall, powerful figure. The forehead is broad and square; the hair is abundant; the full beard masks the mouth and chin; the general aspect is of great but disciplined strength. The eyes are level and determined; they have speculation in them. Nor does his work belie his blood. It shows the natural bent of the Scot towards metaphysics; and this thoughtfulness is one pervading quality of Melville's books. In the second place, his family had been so long established in the country (his grandfather was a member of the "Boston tea-party") that he secured the benefits of education and inherited culture: and this enlightenment was indispensable in enabling him to perceive the literary "values" of the strange men, strange scenes and strange events amongst which he was thrown. And then, he had the love of adventure which drove him forth to gather his material at the ends of the earth. He made two voyages; first as a green hand of eighteen in one of the old clipper packets to Liverpool and back; and next, as a young man of twenty-three, in a whaler. The latter was sufficiently adventurous. Wearying of sea-life, he deserted on one of the Marquesas Islands, and came near being killed and eaten by cannibal natives who kept him prisoner for four months. At last he escaped, and worked his way home on a U.S. man-o'-war. This adventure lasted four years and he went no more to sea.

After his marriage, he lived at Pittsfield for thirteen years, in close intimacy with Hawthorne, to whom he dedicated his chief work. My copy shows that it was written as early as 1851, but the title page is dated exactly twenty years later. It shows as its three chief elements this Scottish thoughtfulness, the love of literature and the love of adventure.

When Mr. Clark Russell singles out *Moby Dick* for such high praise as he bestows upon it, we think at once of other sea-stories,—his own, Marryatt's, Smollet's perhaps, and such books as Dana's *Two Years before the Mast*. But the last is a plain record of fact ; in Smollet's tales, sea-life is only part of one great round of adventure ; in Mr. Russell's mercantile marine, there is generally the romantic interest of the way of a man with a maid ; and in Marryatt's the rise of a naval officer through various ranks plus a love-story or plenty of fun, fighting and prize-money. From all these advantages Melville not only cuts himself off, but seems to heap all sorts of obstacles in his self appointed path. Great are the prejudices to be overcome ; but he triumphs over all. Whalers are commonly regarded as a sort of sea-scavengers. He convinces you that their business is poetic ; and that they are finest fellows afloat. He dispenses with a love-story altogether ; there is hardly a flutter of a petticoat from chapter first to last. The book is not a record of fact ; but of fact idealized, which supplies the frame for a terrible duel to the death between a mad whaling-captain and a miraculous white sperm whale. It is not a love-story but a story of undying hate.

In no other tale is one so completely detached from the land, even from the very suggestion of land. Though Nantucket and New Bedford must be mentioned, only their nautical aspects are touched on ; they are but the steps of the saddle-block from which the mariner vaults upon the back of his sea-horse. The strange ship "Pequod" is the theatre of all the strange adventures. For ever off soundings, she shows but as a central speck in a wide circle of blue or stormy sea ; and yet a speck crammed full of human passions, the world itself in little. Comparison brings out only more strongly the unique character of the book. Whaling is the most peculiar business done by man upon the deep waters. A war-ship is but a mobile fort or battery ; a merchant-man is but a floating shop or warehouse : fishing is devoid of any

but the ordinary perils of navigation ; but sperm-whaling, according to Melville, is the most exciting and dangerous kind of big game hunting. One part of the author's triumph consists in having made the complicated operations of this strange pursuit perfectly familiar to the reader ; and that not in any dull, pedantic fashion, but touched with the imagination, the humor, the fancy, the reflection of a poet. His intimate knowledge of his subject and his intense interest in it make the whaler's life in all its details not only comprehensible but fascinating.

A bare outline of the story, though it cannot suggest its peculiar charm, may arouse a desire to know more about it. The book takes its name from a monstrous, invincible, sperm whale of diabolical strength and malice. In an encounter with this leviathan, Ahab, the captain of a Nantucket whaler, has had his leg-torn off. The long illness which ensues drives him mad ; and his one thought upon recovery is vengeance upon the creature that has mutilated him. He gets command of the "Pequod," concealing his purpose with the cunning of insanity until the fitting moment comes : then he swears the whole crew into his fatal vendetta. From this point on, the mad captain bears down all opposition, imposes his own iron will upon the ship's company, and affects them with like heat, until they are as one keen weapon fitted to his hand and to his purpose. In spite of all difficulties, in spite of all signs and portents and warnings, human and divine, he drives on to certain destruction. Everything conduces to one end, a three day's battle with the monster, which staves and sinks the ship, like the ill-fated "Essex."

For a tale of such length, *Moby Dick* is undoubtedly well constructed. Possibly the "Town-Ho's Story," interesting as it is, somewhat checks the progress of the plot ; but by the time the reader reaches this point, he is infected with the leisurely, trade-wind, whaling atmosphere, and has no desire to proceed faster than at the "Pequod's" own cruising rate. Possibly the book might be shortened by excision, but when one looks over the chapters it is hard to decide which to sacrifice. The interest begins with the quaint words of the opening sentence : "Call me Ishmael" ; and never slackens for at least a hundred pages. Ishmael's reasons for going to sea, his sudden friendship with Queequeg, the Fijian harpooneer, Father Mapple's sermon on

Jonah, in the seamen's bethel, Queequeg's rescue of the country bumpkin on the way to Nantucket, Queequeg's Ramadan, the description of the ship "Pequod" and her two owners, Elijah's warning, getting under way and dropping the pilot, make up an introduction of great variety and picturesqueness. The second part deals with all the particulars of the various operations in whaling from manning the mast-heads and lowering the boats to trying out the blubber and cleaning up the ship, when all the oil is barrelled. In this part Ahab, who has been invisible in the retirement of his cabin, comes on deck and in various scenes different sides of his vehement, iron-willed, yet pathetic nature, are made intelligible. Here also is much learning to be found, and here, if anywhere, the story dawdles. The last part deals with the fatal three days' chase, the death of Ahab, and the escape of the White Whale.

One striking peculiarity of the book is its Americanism—a word which needs definition. The theme and style are peculiar to this country. Nowhere but in America could such a theme have been treated in such a style. Whaling is peculiarly an American industry; and of all whale-men, the Nantucketers were the keenest, the most daring, and the most successful. Now, though there are still whalers to be found in the New Bedford slips, and interesting as it is to clamber about them and hear the unconscious confirmation of all Melville's details from the lips of some old harpooneer or boat-header, the industry is almost extinct. The discovery of petroleum did for it. Perhaps Melville went to sea for no other purpose than to construct the monument of whaling in this unique book. Not in his subject alone, but in his style is Melville distinctly American. It is large in idea, expansive; it has an Elizabethan force and freshness and swing, and is, perhaps, more rich in figures than any style but Emerson's. It has the picturesqueness of the new world, and, above all, a free-flowing humour, which is the distinct *cachet* of American literature. No one would contend that it is a perfect style; some mannerisms become tedious, like the constant moral turn, and the curiously coined adverbs placed before the verb. Occasionally there is more than a hint of bombast, as indeed might be expected; but, upon the whole, it is an extraordinary style, rich, clear, vivid, original. It shows reading and is full of

thought and allusion ; but its chief charm is its freedom from all scholastic rules and conventions. Melville is a Walt Whitman of prose.

Like Browning he has a dialect of his own. The poet of *The Ring and the Book* translates the different emotions and thoughts and possible words of pope, jurist, murderer, victim, into one level uniform Browningsese ; reduces them to a common denominator, in a way of speaking, and Melville gives us not the actual words of American whalemens, but what they would say under the imagined conditions, translated into one consistent, though various Melvillesque manner of speech. The life he deals with belongs already to the legendary past, and he has us completely at his mercy. He is completely successful in creating his "atmosphere." Granted the conditions, the men and their words, emotions and actions, are all consistent. One powerful scene takes place on the quarter-deck of the "Pequod" one evening, when, all hands mustered aft, the Captain Ahab tells of the White Whale, and offers a doubloon to the first man who "raises" him :

" 'Captain Ahab,' said Tashtego, 'that White Whale must be the same that some call Moby Dick.'

'Moby Dick?' shouted Ahab. 'Do ye know the white whale then, Tash?'

'Does he fan-tail a little curious, sir, before he goes down?' said the Gay-Header, deliberately.

'And has he a curious spout, too,' said Daggoo, 'very bushy, even for a parmacetty, and mighty quick, Captain Ahab?'

'And he have one, two, tree—oh good many iron in him hide, too, Captain,' cried Queequeg, disjointedly, 'all twisktee be-twisk, like him—him—' faltering hard for a word, and screwing his hand round and round as though uncorking a bottle—' like him—him—'

'Corkscrew!' cried Ahab, 'aye, Queequeg, the harpoons lie all twisted and wrenched in him ; aye, Daggoo, his spout is a big one, like a whole shock of wheat, and white as a pile of our Nantucket wool after the great annual sheep-shearing ; aye, Tashtego, *and he fan-tails like a split jib in a squall.*'

The first mate, Starbuck, asks him, 'it was not Moby Dick that took off thy leg?'

'Who told thee that?' cried Ahab ; then pausing. 'Aye, Starbuck ; aye, my hearties all round, it was Moby Dick that dismasted me

Moby Dick that brought me to this dead stump I stand on now. Aye, aye,' he shouted with a terrific, loud, animal sob, like that of a heart-stricken moose ; 'Aye, aye! it was that accursed white whale that razed me; made a poor pegging lubber of me for ever and a day !'

Starbuck alone attempts to withstand him.

'Vengeance on a dumb brute!' cried Starbuck, 'that simply smote thee from the blindest instinct ! Madness ; to be enraged with a dumb thing, Captain Ahab, seems blasphemous.'

'Hark ye, yet again,—the little lower layer. All visible objects, man, are but as pasteboard masks. But in each event—in the living act, the undoubted deed—there, some unknown but still reasoning thing puts forth the mouldings of its features from behind the un-reasoning mask. If man will strike, strike through the mask !' "

Then follows the wild ceremony of drinking round the capstan-head from the harpoon-sockets to confirm Ahab's curse. " Death to Moby Dick. God hunt us all, if we do not hunt Moby Dick to the death ! " The intermezzo of the various sailors on the forecastle which follows until the squall strikes the ship is one of the most suggestive passages in all the literature of the sea. Under the influence of Ahab's can, the men are dancing on the forecastle. The old Manx sailor says :

" I wonder whether those jolly lads bethink them of what they are dancing over. I'll dance over your grave, I will—that's the bitterest threat of your night-women, that beat head-winds round corners. O, Christ! to think of the green navies and the green-skulled crews."

Where every page, almost every paragraph, has its quaint or telling phrase, or thought, or suggested picture, it is hard to make a selection; and even the choicest morsels give you no idea of the richness of the feast. Melville's humour has been mentioned ; it is a constant quantity. Perhaps the statement of his determination after the adventure of the first lowering is as good an example as any :

" Here, then, from three impartial witnesses, I had a deliberate statement of the case. Considering, therefore, that squalls and capsizings in the water, and consequent bivouacks in the deep, were matters of common occurrence in this kind of life ; considering that at the superlatively critical moment of going on to the whale I must resign my life into the hands of him who steered the boat—often-times a fellow who at that very moment is in his impetuousness upon the point of scuttling the craft with his own frantic stampings ;

considering that the particular disaster to our own particular boat was chiefly to be imputed to Starbuck's driving on to his whale, almost in the teeth of a squall, and considering that Starbuck, notwithstanding, was famous for his great heedfulness in the fishery; considering that I belonged to this uncommonly prudent Starbuck's boat; and finally considering in what a devil's chase I was implicated, touching the White Whale: taking all things together, I say, I thought I might as well go below and make a rough draft of my will.

'Queequeg,' said I, 'come along and you shall be my lawyer, executor and legatee.' "

The humour has the usual tinge of Northern melancholy, and sometimes a touch of Rabelais. The exhortations of Stubb to his boat's crew, on different occasions, or such chapters as "Queen Mab," "The Cassock," "Leg and Arm," "Stubb's Supper," are good examples of his peculiar style.

But, after all, his chief excellence is bringing to the landsman the very salt of the sea breeze, while to one who has long known the ocean, he is as one praising to the lover the chiefest beauties of the Beloved. The magic of the ship and the mystery of the sea are put into words that form pictures for the dullest eyes. The chapter, "The Spirit Spout," contains these two aquarelles of the moonlit sea and the speeding ship side by side:

"It was while gliding through these latter waters that one serene and moonlight night, when all the waves rolled by like scrolls of silver; and by their soft, suffusing seethings all things made what seemed a silvery silence, not a solitude; on such a silent night a silvery jet was seen far in advance of the white bubbles at the bow. Lit up by the moon it looked celestial; seemed some plumed and glittering god uprising from the sea. * * * * *

Walking the deck, with quick, side-lunging strides, Ahab commanded the t'gallant sails and royals to be set, and every stunsail spread. The best man in the ship must take the helm. Then, with every mast-head manned, the piled-up craft rolled down before the wind. The strange, upheaving, lifting tendency of the taffrail breeze filling the hollows of so many sails made the buoyant, hovering deck to feel like air beneath the feet."

In the chapter called "The Needle," ship and sea and sky are blended in one unforgettable whole:

"Next morning the not-yet-subsided sea rolled in long, slow billows of mighty bulk, and striving in the "Pequod's" gurgling track,

pushed her on like giants' palms outspread. The strong, unstaggering breeze abounded so, that sky and air seemed vast outbellying sails; the whole world boomed before the wind. Muffled in the full morning light, the invisible sun was only known by the spread intensity of his place; where his bayonet rays moved on in stacks. Emblazonings, as of crowned Babylonian kings and queens, reigned over everything. The sea was a crucible of molten gold, that bubblingly leaps with light and heat."

It would be hard to find five consecutive sentences anywhere containing such pictures and such vivid, pregnant, bold imagery: but this book is made up of such things.

The hero of the book is, after all, not Captain Ahab, but his triumphant antagonist, the mystic white monster of the sea, and it is only fitting that he should come for a moment at least into the saga. A complete scientific memoir of the Sperm Whale as known to man might be quarried from this book, for Melville has described the creature from his birth to his death, and even burial in the oil casks and the ocean. He has described him living, dead and anatomized. At least one such description is in place here. The appearance of the whale on the second day of the fatal chase is by "breaching," and nothing can be clearer than Melville's account of it:

"The triumphant halloo of thirty buckskir lungs was heard, as—much nearer to the ship than the place of the imaginary jet, less than a mile ahead—Moby Dick bodily burst into view! For not by any calm and indolent spoutings; not by the peaceable gush of that mystic fountain in his head, did the White Whale now reveal his vicinity; but by the far more wondrous phenomenon of breaching. Rising with his utmost velocity from the furthest depths, the Sperm Whale thus booms his entire bulk into the pure element of air, and piling up a mountain of dazzling foam, shows his place to the distance of seven miles and more. In those moments the torn, enraged waves he shakes off seem his mane; in some cases this breaching is his act of defiance.

'There she breaches! there she breaches!' was the cry, as in his immeasurable bravadoes the White Whale tossed himself salmon-like to heaven. So suddenly seen in the blue plain of the sea, and relieved against the still bluer margin of the sky, the spray that he raised for the moment intolerably glittered and glared like a glacier; and stood there gradually fading and fading away from its first sparkling intensity to the dim mistiness of an advancing shower in a vale."

This book is at once the epic and the encyclopaedia of whaling. It is a monument to the honour of an extinct race of daring seamen ; but it is a monument overgrown with the lichen of neglect. Those who will care to scrape away the moss may be few, but they will have their reward. To the class of gentleman-adventurer, to those who love both books and free life under the wide and open sky, it must always appeal. Melville takes rank with Borrow, and Jefferies, and Thoreau, and Sir Richard Burton ; and his place in this brotherhood of notables is not the lowest. Those who feel the salt in their blood that draws them time and again out of the city to the wharves and the ships, almost without their knowledge or their will ; those who feel the irresistible lure of the spring, away from the cramped and noisy town, up the long road to the peaceful companionship of the awaking earth and the untainted sky ; all those—and they are many—will find in Melville's great book an ever fresh and constant charm.

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LIGHTNING RODS.

LIGHTNING being known to be a manifestation of electricity, the protection of objects from its effects became a problem in the application of the laws of electricity. The history of lightning rods might therefore have been expected to resemble, or at least run parallel with the history of other branches of electricity ; but such has not been the case. The fact is that Franklin, two years before his famous kite experiment had demonstrated the nature of lightning, devised a method of protection which has been pronounced perfect by experts within the last few years. Franklin's experiment and his interpretation of it deserve description in his own language* :—

“ Take a pair of large brass scales, of two or more feet beam, the cords of the scales being silk. Suspend the beam by a thread from the ceiling, so the bottom of the scales may be about a foot from

*Condensed from an account sent to Peter Collinson, July 29, 1750.

the floor ; the scales will move round in a circle by the untwisting of the thread. Set an iron punch on the end upon the floor, in such a place as that the scales may pass over it in making their circle ; then electrify one scale. As they move round, you see that scale draw nigher to the floor, and dip more when it comes over the punch ; and if that be placed at a proper distance, the scale will snap and discharge its fire into it. But if a needle be placed upon the floor near the punch, its point upwards, the scale, instead of drawing nigh to the punch and snapping, discharges its fire silently through the point, and rises higher from the punch.

Now if the fire of electricity and that of lightning be the same, these scales may represent electrified clouds. The horizontal motion of the scales over the floor may represent the motion of the clouds over the earth ; and the erect iron punch, a hill or high building ; and then we see how electrified clouds passing over hills or high buildings at too great a height to strike may be attracted lower till within their striking distance. And lastly, if a needle fixed on the punch with its point upright, or even on the floor below the punch will draw the fire from the scale silently at a much greater than the striking distance, and the punch is thereby secured from the stroke ; may not the knowledge of this power of points be of use to mankind, in preserving houses, churches, ships, etc., from the stroke of lightning, by directing us to fix on the highest parts of those edifices upright rods of iron, made sharp as a needle, and gilt to prevent rusting, and from the foot of those rods a wire down the outside of the building into the ground."

Over the details of this protective system controversies have been numerous. Should the conductor be iron or copper, wire, rod, ribbon or cable ? Should it terminate in a point or a ball ? (In England points, because favoured by Franklin, were supposed to " savour of republicanism.") How high should the rod rise above the roof of the building it protects and over what area does its protection extend ? Some of these questions are now regarded as unimportant, others are still under discussion, while others again have been completely answered by experience. The answers may be found in the reports of various committees of the French Academy of Sciences, Lightning Rod Conferences and other bodies where minute directions are given regarding the size and construction of each part of the conductor. But regarding the principle of Franklin's method of protection there has been, until very recently, but one opinion—that it is perfect.

"The testimony of electrical engineers who have had large experience with lightning conductors seems almost unanimous that a lightning conductor erected and maintained in accordance with the conditions prescribed by the Lightning Rod Conference gives perfect protection."

This should surely be sufficient answer to the question so often asked: Are lightning rods of any use? For the question is obviously one which cannot be answered by a reference to a few cases. The opinion of men of long experience is that the value of conductors in preventing damage from lightning can scarcely be over-estimated, and this opinion is endorsed by scientists who have made a systematic study of thousands of recorded facts.

A lightning rod protects the object upon which it is erected in two ways. The point by promoting silent discharge relieves the cloud of its charge without the destructive effects of a flash. The quantity of electricity thus drawn from clouds by a point may be very considerable. Beccaria by breaking a conductor leading from one of the seven roofs of the Valentino Palace at Turin and watching the sparks cross the gap estimated that during one thunderstorm that conductor drew from the clouds in an hour enough electricity to kill 360 men. This is of course very indefinite, but it means that he obtained across the spark-gap what to the eye and ear seemed a continuous series of powerful sparks, each of which would have given a painful shock. It cannot be doubted that during that hour the conductors on those seven roofs drew from the clouds enough electricity to prevent many destructive flashes. Numerous observations of the behaviour of thunderclouds before and after passing over villages or castles well equipped with pointed lightning rods strengthen this opinion.

In the second place, if a lightning flash does occur, it is expected to strike the point of the conductor and pass quietly to earth through the metal. This it generally does, so generally indeed that at the meeting of the British Association in 1888, so eminent an authority as Mr. Preece endorsed the statement of the Lightning Rod Conference of 1882 that "there is no authentic case on record where a properly constructed conductor failed to do its work." This statement however is too strong, as carefully constructed conductors sometimes fail. When they do, the

dogmatic assertion that there must have been some undiscovered flaw in their construction is thoroughly unscientific. Unfortunately such assertions have frequently been made. The truism that "lightning always follows the path of least resistance," has been taken to mean that "lightning always follows the path whose resistance to ordinary electric currents is least." The resistance, in this sense, of a stout metal rod running down from the top of a building and making good connection with the earth is necessarily less than that of any other path from the top of that building to the ground. Therefore, if lightning strikes the conductor of that building, and, after following it some distance, leaves it to jump through a brick wall and run along some bell wires, or do other damage, it is held that there must have been some fault in the construction of the rod or in its connection with the earth. The earth-connection being out of sight is generally blamed. Now this conception of the action of a conductor is wrong, and this method of accounting for damage to protected buildings has done much to retard scientific knowledge of lightning by fixing attention upon imaginary faults in the rod, or dryness of the ground when the phenomenon was really due to an unsuspected property of lightning. Thus it was not until Professor Oliver Lodge showed by experiment* the effects of self-induction upon a discharge passing along a wire in the laboratory that attention was directed to any other property of a lightning conductor than its resistance.

The history of the Washington monument furnishes a good illustration of the occasional failure of lightning to strike the highest point of a conductor. The apex of the pyramidal top of this monument is a block of aluminium, which is connected by large wires to the steel columns of the elevator shaft, which are in turn well connected with the earth. The whole forms an ideal lightning rod 555 feet high. Most of the discharges which occurred near the monument no doubt struck the aluminium point, and were carried away unnoticed, but one struck the monument several feet from the point and made its way through the stonework to the elevator shaft, doing much damage.

The following quotation† illustrates the failure of lightning to follow a conductor even after it has reached it:—

*See his *Lightning Conductors and Lightning Guards* to which this article is indebted at many points.

†Gerald Molloy: *Lightning, Thunder and Lightning Conductors*.

"In the month of May, 1879, the Church of Laughton-en-le Morthen, in England, though provided with a conductor, was struck by lightning and sustained considerable damage. On examination it was found that the lightning followed the conductor down along the spire as far as the roof; then changing its course, it forced its way through a buttress of massive mason work, dislodging about two cartloads of stones, and leaped over to the leads of the roof, about six feet distant. It now followed the leads until it came to the cast-iron down-pipes intended to discharge the rain-water, and through these it descended to the earth."

These are two out of very many such cases, all of which have been held to be explained by saying that there was some defect in the earth connection. But any explanation based upon an assumed defect in the earth connection is insufficient, for in both the cases mentioned and in most of the others, even if the conductor merely touched the surface of the ground, it formed a path of smaller electrical resistance than that chosen by the lightning. It must then be admitted that even the best constructed lightning rods occasionally fail. The lightning may not strike the point, or a part of the discharge may leave the conductor after following it for some distance. Both of these phenomena are capable of scientific explanation.

The effect of a rod cannot extend to a distance many times its own dimensions. It is idle therefore to suppose that in determining the path of a flash a mile long, a rod of a few yards length can exercise a controlling influence. In comparison with the magnitude of the flash the building or tower bears a closer resemblance to the needle-point which receives a spark in the laboratory than the pointed conductor which it carries. More than that, the same causes which so frequently divide a flash in the air must operate in the same way to prevent the whole of a heavy flash from striking the slender point of a conductor. The idea of an "area of protection," *i.e.* of a certain region round a rod within which it is impossible for lightning to strike, is therefore absolutely wrong. It is, in fact, quite possible for lightning to strike the top and bottom of a rod at the same time.

The object to be sought in protecting a large building is not to erect so large a rod that the lightning will be sure to strike it, but to place conductors over all prominent parts so that wherever

the discharge falls some part of the conductor may be near to receive it. Nothing is to be gained by making the points large and high, the effective height is the height above the ground and a few feet more makes little difference. It is much more desirable that the points be numerous, as the discharging power of a single point is not very great. Hence it has been suggested that a plentiful supply of barbed fence-wire along all the ridges, gables and eaves would make an admirable sky terminal. In repairing the Washington monument after the damage referred to, metal bands with numerous projecting points were placed round the top every few feet and connected at many points with the elevator shaft.

When the flash has reached the conductor it must be carried to the ground with as little disturbance as possible. This does not mean that the conductor must be a very large copper wire or rod as was taken for granted when it was believed that great electrical resistance was the only condition which could cause a flash to leave a conductor after once reaching it. The passage of a sudden current like that of lightning is opposed by something much less easily eliminated than resistance. In fact experiments show that in some cases a side-flash occurs more readily from a stout copper rod than from a thin iron wire whose resistance is many times as great. The same property of electricity, self-induction, which causes a flash to divide while passing through the air tends to prevent the passage of a whole flash through a single conductor. In preventing side-flashes then a large rod has no advantage over a smaller one, and copper is no better than iron. The one effective method is to provide several paths to earth as widely separated as possible. At least let there be one wire down each corner of the building. It need not be very large; provided it is of sufficient size not to be melted by any ordinary flash, durability is the only consideration.

Under the ground no trouble should be spared to terminate the conductor in earth which is always moist. The emphasis which has always been laid on this point is none too great. Where possible several earths should be provided, some near the surface and others at greater depth, all being at some little distance from the foundations of the building.

There is another system of protection against lightning which was suggested by Maxwell. It depends upon the fact that with-

in a metal shell no discharge can take place, and everything is screened from the effect of discharges without. A building encased in sheet-iron would therefore be completely protected against lightning whether the casing was connected to earth or not. Any metal net-work surrounding an object even if not closed, as a bird-gage, affords comparative protection. Wires along the ridges and across the roof of a house, connected with a wire around the eaves and wires down each corner and the middle of each side connecting with one round the foundation, would enclose the house in a metal protector of this kind. But this is nearly the same construction as that required by the other system. The two may therefore be combined by arming the conductor which runs along the ridge with points (barbed wire), doing away with the wire around the foundation, and in its stead prolonging the wires down the corners well into the ground.

There are some cases, however, where not comparative but absolute security is desired, as in powder magazines. There Maxwell's method must be employed in its completeness. The whole building must be encased in sheet iron; for it is not sufficient that the charge be carried to earth without doing much damage; no part of it can be allowed to enter the building, as the smallest spark there might cause an explosion.

As a rule all considerable masses of metal which enter into the construction of a building should be connected with the lightning conductors at both ends. This applies especially to eave-troughs and water-pipes on the outside of a building; it does not apply to gas-pipes. A most minute spark may set fire to gas at some unsuspected leak, or a gas-bracket may be close to some person's head. It is well to remember that, during the violent electrical disturbance accompanying a flash of lightning, sparks may be given off by pieces of metal not connected with the lightning conductor. Or the flash itself may use other pieces of metal as parts of its path (although the danger of this is slight if a number of paths have been provided for it), and in leaping to them it may do great damage.

It is possible, then, at small cost to protect a building so that the danger of damage by lightning is extremely slight. But theory and observation both condemn the confidence which utters such reckless statements as the following by the Lightning Rod Conference of 1882: "A man may with perfect impunity clasp a copper rod an inch in diameter, the bottom of which is well connected with moist earth, while the top of it receives a violent flash of lightning." Until much more is known of lightning than at present the true scientist will prefer to use the much-ridiculed language of Voltaire: "There are some great lords whom one should only approach with extreme precaution; lightning is such a one."

N. R. CARMICHAEL.

EARLY RECORDS OF ONTARIO.

(Continued from July number.)

QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT KINGSTON, BY ADJOURNMENT 14TH
DAY OF JAN'Y.

TUESDAY, 13TH DAY OF APRIL, 1790.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, Arch'd Mc-
Donell, Esqs.

WEDNESDAY, 14TH APRIL, 1790.

Charles Justin McCarty appears upon his recognisance taken upon information that he is a vagabond, imposture, and disturber of the peace.

Witness for the pro. sworn, Benj'n Clapp.

For defendant, John Ratton, Wm. Williams, Eman'l Elderbec, Alexr. Laughlan, David Lent, Eliz. VanSickler, Florence Donovan.

The Court having heard the evidence for the prosecution, likewise the evidence for the defendant, will deliberate on the merits of the information against the defendant.

The Court having consulted with the Grand Jury, the Court, with the approbation of the Grand Jury, do order that the said Charles Justin McCarty shall, within the space of one month, leave this district and not return, and that the sheriff of the district shall see this order duly executed.

The King on the prosecution, Conraad Sills vs. Fred'k Peper for feloniously stealing and carrying away a Plough Shear, Coulter and Bolt of the value of Ten Shill's.

The Grand Jury delivered into Court a True Bill.

The prisoner being called to the bar was charged upon his Indict't: to which Indict't he pleads Not Guilty—and puts himself upon God and his Country.

Witness for the prosecution Conraad Sills, John Dingman.
For the defendant,—

The Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and having returned into Court, by their Foreman Gilbert Harris say that the defendant is Guilty.

The Court having considered the verdict of the Jury do order that the prisoner shall receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare

back at the public whipping post. Suffer one month's imprisonment, and shall be set in the stocks one day in each week of that month with the label of *Thief*.

TUESDAY, 13TH DAY OF JULY, 1790.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, Arch'd Mc-Donell, Dan'l Wright, Robert Clark, Nich's Hagerman, Stephen Gilbert.

The Grand Jury sworn as per pannel annexed to the precept. Constables sworn for the Town of Kingston for the ensuing year, Rich'd Campbell, Philip Pember.

Henry Bird appeared to answer on the complaint of Katherine Brown, to perform his part towards the maintenance of a Bastard Child by her. The Court having heard the parties, the said Bird does acknowledge the said child and is ready to do what the Court may order. It is ordered that the said Henry Bird shall pay the mother K. Brown the sum of ten shillings per month from the birth until the child shall be twelve months old, and that the said Bird shall give sufficient security for his sure performance of the same.

Charles Justin McCarty having been apprehended and committed by the Sheriff for having returned to this district after having left it, in consequence of an order of the last Court of Quarter Sessions held the 13th day of April last,—The Court do order that the said Charles Justin McCarty shall remain in gaol until the Sheriff shall find a proper conveyance for sending him to Oswego. The court adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, 14TH JULY.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

The Foreman of the Grand Jury informs the Court that Owen Ritchy, one of the Jury, is no longer able to attend from lameness. The Court order that the Grand Jury may be cancelled and a new panel made, leaving out the name of Owen Ritchy—previous to their proceeding to business.

The King on pro—Archibald McDonell, Esq. vs James McTagart and George Finkle, for Misdemeanor in refusing to obey the summons of the said Archibald McDonell Esq., one of the Justices assigned to keep the peace in said district.

The Grand Jury delivered into Court a True Bill:

The defendants being charged upon their Indictment pleaded not guilty, and for their trial hath put themselves on God and their Country.

Witness for pro. sworn,—Arch'd McDonell, Esq., Timothy Thomson, William McGraw.

The Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and having returned into Court, by their Foreman, John Ham, say that the defendants are *Not Guilty*. The Court having considered the verdict of the Jury do order the defendants to be discharged.

THURSDAY, 15TH JULY.

Upon the representation of Frederick Cromer of the ill treatment that he has received from John A. Dingman. The Court are unanimously of the opinion, that the said Frederick Cromer can or ought to live with the said Dingman.¹

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN 14TH OF JANUARY 1794.²

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Jun'r, Neil McLean, Hector McLean, John Walden Myers, Hazelton Spencer, Alexander Chisholm, Bryan Crawford, Alexander Fisher, Nicholas Hagerman, Caleb Gilbert, Samuel Sherwood.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the Precept.

The Grand Jury was called and sworn.

Richard Ferguson, foreman, Alex'r Vanalstine, Arch. Chisholm, Mathias Marsh, John Chisholm, Tobias W. Myers, Paul Trompour, Peter Rattan, Sen., Reuben Beedle, Benj.

¹ Cromer was probably an indentured servant or bound apprentice to Dingman. It was permitted by law to bind out children until they were twenty-one years of age.

² The records for the years 1791-2-3 are wanting. During that time the Constitutional Act of 1791, had come into force, and the first two sessions of the new legislature of Upper Canada had passed. English law, as the rule of decision in all civil as well as criminal matters, had been formally adopted; 32nd Geo. III. Cap. I. Trial by jury had also been made compulsory; 32nd Geo. III. Cap. II. However English law and trial by jury had already been general in the Western settlements. The names of the Districts had been changed, the District of Mecklenburg becoming the Midland District. By 33rd Geo. III. Cap. VI. the Court of Quarter Sessions for the Midland District is thenceforth required to be held at Adolphus Town on the second Tuesday of January and July, and at Kingston on the second Tuesday of April and October.

The first bill introduced in the first session of the first parliament of Upper Canada, was intended to provide for representative municipal institutions similar to

Clap, Abram Mabee, Paul Huff, John Caniff, Wm. Bell, Wm. Moon, Ruloff Orhim, Michael Haat, I. Howel, Samuel B. Gilbert, Joshua Goldsmith, David McGregor Roger, Owen Richards.

Constables were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

The Court gave the Grand Jury the charge¹.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow at ten o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, THE 15 JANUARY, 1794.

The magistrates in session assembled agree to the sureties proposed by the Treasurer, a Bond entered into of £300 with Neil McLean and Hector McLean, Esquires, sureties².

John Croisdell appeared at the session and entered into recognisance, himself in £40 and Peter Vanalstine in £40, that

those in the adjoining United States, by authorizing town meetings for the purpose of appointing various town officers. This system seems to have been already in operation, in several localities, among the Loyalists. The Adolphus Town town meeting record has lately been brought to light and published in an "Appendix to the Report of the Ontario Bureau of Industries 1897." Simcoe, however, and his imported Executive Council, being frankly opposed to anything that savored of American democracy, did what they could to discourage any such measure. A counter bill was introduced, authorizing the Justices of the Peace to appoint annually divers public officers. Neither bill matured, however. (See Simcoe's despatches to Dundas, and the Journals of the first session of the Upper Canada Legislature. Canadian Archives, Q. 279.) The following year, 1793, a compromise act was passed, 33rd Geo. III. Cap. II. providing for the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers. This merely permitted the ratepayers to elect certain executive town officers, whose duties were either prescribed by the act, or left to be regulated by the Justices in Quarter Sessions. Beyond the permission to fix the height of fences, the town meeting had not legally any legislative function, the town officers were independent of each other and responsible, not to those who elected them, but to the Magistrates. By 34 Geo. III. Cap. VIII. the following year, a slight additional legislative power was given to the town meetings, permitting them to fix the limits of times and seasons for certain animals running at large, but even this power was afterwards curtailed. This act, therefore, while authorizing town meetings, effectively strangled all interest in them except where, as in Adolphus and neighbouring townships, the limitations of the act were to a certain extent disregarded. Hence for years to come the Court of Quarter Sessions remained the only living centre of municipal affairs.

¹ The charge to the jury was usually delivered by the Hon. Richard Cartwright, chairman of the Sessions. Some portions of these charges have been preserved, and they indicate that, as was necessary in a new Province but lately provided with a constitution, where there were few educational facilities, little means of communication and almost no books, the addresses were of a very comprehensive character. Speaking from personal knowledge, Bishop Strachan said of them "His addresses to the grand juries at the Quarter Sessions will long be remembered for their sound principles, liberal views and tempered dignity."

² By 33rd Geo. III. Cap. III. provision was made for the assessment and levying of District taxes. The funds were to be administered by the Quarter Sessions for local purposes, such as building a court house and goal, building and maintaining bridges, and for the payment of various local officers. Section 25 of this act provided for the appointment of a District treasurer who should give such security as might be approved by the Magistrates. The treasurer was allowed three per cent. of all moneys received.

the said John Croisdell shall appear at the Q'r Sessions in April at Kingston, in the meantime keep the peace, and in particular to Jack his Negro Boy.¹

Caleb Gilbert and Joshua Goldsmith are each and separately bound in £10 penalty to appear and give evidence on part of our Sovereign Lord the King at April Sessions, to be holden at Kingston.

Solomon Orser prays he may be discharged from his recognisances. Was accordingly discharged by proclamation.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, 8TH APRIL,
1794.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Jr., Neil McLean, Hector McLean, Hazelton Spencer, Alex'r Chisholm, T. Thomson, Samuel Sherwood, Richard Cartwright, Sen'r, Thomas Markland, Richard Porter, Thomas Dorland, Robert Clarke, William Atkinson.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the Precept.

The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

Wm. Johnson, Foreman; Wm. Crawford, Jas. Parrot, Nicholas Herkimer, Alex. Clarke, Guisbard Sharp, David Embury, Donald McDonell, Isaac Briscoe, Elisha Phillips, Gilbert Harris, Jas. Carscallion, Daniel Fraser, Benjamin Seymour, John Embury, Matthew Clarke, Andrew Embury, Dan'l Carr.

Constable sworn to attend the Grand Jury, John Mower.

The Court gave the Grand Jury their charge.

All persons bound on Recognizance were called and continued on their Recognizances.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

On application to the Magistrates in open sessions of Mr. James Russel, of the Town of Kingston, of his having been assessed in two different Townships, the Court do order that the

¹ Quite a number of Negro slaves had been brought into this District from the United States. But an act had been passed the previous year, 1793, 33rd Geo. III. Cap. VII. to prevent the further importation of slaves. Though not liberating any of the slaves then held it provided that their children born after the passing of the act, should not be retained in involuntary servitude beyond the age of twenty-five years. This bill, Simcoe says, met with much opposition in the legislature. (See Canadian Archives Q. 279 p. 336.)

name of Mr. Russel be struck out from the assessment of Fredericksburg, having already paid his assessment in the Town of Kingston, having been assessed for his whole property in the Town of Kingston.¹

THURSDAY, THE 10TH OF APRIL.

The following persons were named and appointed to serve as constables for the space of one year for the Townships hereafter specified :²

Mr. John McLeod, High Constable.

James Beaman, Samuel Merrill; for the Town of Kingston.

John McLaughlin, Jr., Pittsburgh.

John Yerks, George Harpel, Township of Kingston.

Nathaniel Olger, Thomas Fraser, Earnest Town.

J. Hawley, George Sills, Harman Laraway, John Finkle, Fredericksburg.

Michael Slott, Andrew Hufnel, Adolphus Town.

Samuel Rosebush, Sidney.

John Reid, Thurlow.

Daniel Robertson, John Carnard, Marysburgh.

Caleb Alesworth, Peter Cole, Sophiasburgh.

Henry Bowen, Richmond.

Amos Martin, Amherst Island.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open sessions assembled that the sum of nine pence shall be paid to the Pound Keeper for every Horse or head of Horned Cattle pounded and the sum of fourpence for every Sheep, Hog or Goat.³

It is likewise ordered that the Town shall receive from the owner the sum of one shilling for Registering the marks of any horse or other head of Horned Cattle.

The following arrangement is ordered by the Magistrates assembled in Sessions, that the Magistrates composing the Court

¹ This is in accordance with 33rd Geo. III. Cap. III. Section 11 which provided for the hearing of assessment appeals by the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions.

² By 33rd Geo. III. Cap. II. Section 10, the Justices of the Peace at the April Sessions were to appoint each year a high constable for the District, and a number of constables to serve in each parish, or township.

³ Section 13 of 33rd Geo. III. Cap. II requires the Magistrates to fix the fees to be taken by the town clerk and the pound keepers.

of Requests will be held in the different Townships as follows, by the hereafter named Magistrates :¹

Mr. Markland, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Cartwright, Senr., for Kingston and Pittsburgh.

Mr. Clarke, Mr. Booth, Mr. Ducinbury, for Ernest Town, Campden and Amherst Island.

Mr. Spencer, Mr. B. Crawford, Mr. T. Thomson, for Fredericksburgh and Richmond.

Mr. T. Dorland, Mr. Hagerman, Mr. P. Vanalstine, Mr. Fisher, for Adolphus Town and that part of Sophiasburgh comprehended between the Carrying Place and Green Point.

Mr. Myers, Mr. Chisholm, Mr. Caleb Gilbert, Mr. Stephen Gilbert, Mr. Samuel Sherwood, for Ameliasburgh, Sidney and Thurlow.

It is considered by the Magistrates in open Sessions that the Gaoler, John Cannon, shall in future be allowed Ten Pounds per Annum for his salary and that he shall receive Ten Pounds for his past services to be paid out of the Public Stock of the District².

Likewise the sum of Seven Pounds Seventeen Shillings and Threepence to the Town Wardens of Kingston for the support and maintenance of Mr. Wooding, out of the Public Stock of the District.

Likewise the sum of Fifteen Pounds to Mr. A. McLean for opening the Road to the Gananoque River, out of the Public Stock of the District.

Likewise the sum of Three Pounds and threepence to Mr. A. McLean for his Disbursements, from the Public Stock of the District.

Likewise the sum of Eighteen Pounds Eight Shillings and Ninepence farthing to Mr. Richard Cartwright, Jr., for his Disbursements, out of the Public Stock of the District.

Likewise the sum of Fourteen Pounds Seven Shillings and

¹ This is in accordance with 32nd Geo. III. Cap. VI, which provides for the establishing of Courts of Requests, for the speedy recovery of small debts. The Court was to consist of two or more Justices of the Peace, appointed for special divisions of the District by the General Court of Quarter Sessions. This was the beginning of the present Division Court.

² The gaoler was appointed by the Sheriff, but his remuneration was fixed by the Quarter Sessions, in accordance with 32nd Geo. III. Cap. VIII. Sections 14 and 17.

Sixpence be paid to Mr. John Howard, Coroner of the District, out of the Public Stock.

Likewise the sum of Fifteen Pounds to Mr. A. McLean, Clerk of the Peace, being his salary for one year, out of the Public Stock of the District.

The whole amounting to Eighty six pounds six shillings and five pence Halifax Currency, which shall be sufficient authority for the Treasurer to pay the aforesaid sums.

SPECIAL SESSIONS—SATURDAY, THE 26TH DAY OF APRIL, 1794.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Jun, Neil McLean, William Atkinson, Thomas Markland, Esqs.

Mr. Burnet, Road Master, to superintend the Road to be opened in the Second Concession and to have under his direction the People residing in the rear of the First Concession as well as those of the Second Concession.

Mr. Ferris, Road Master, to superintend the road in Front, from the Township line to the Bridge over Collins Creek, and to have the assistance of three days labour of the Inhabitants of the Town of Kingston, not to pass the Bridge of Cataroque Creek.

Mr. Brass, Road Master, to superintend the road from King's Mills to join Mr. Ferris at the Township Line and to work the Road from the Town to the Second Concession.

Mr. Brewer, Road Master, to superintend the Road from the Third Concession to the New Township and from Capt'n Atkinson's farm to Powlys and from thence to join Mr. Ferris's Road towards Collins' Bridge and from Powlys house to the limits of the Township¹.

SPECIAL SESSIONS—SATURDAY, THE 3RD MAY, 1794.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Jun., Neil McLean, Hector McLean, Thomas Markland.

It is ordered that the Assize of Bread for the four pound

¹ This is in accordance with 33rd Geo. III. Cap. IV. which provides, with great detail, for the laying out, amending and keeping in repair the public highways and roads in the Province. The Justices of the Peace in their various divisions, were declared to be commissioners to carry out the requirements of this act. The overseers, or road masters, were among the officers to be elected at the town meetings, but, as will be seen from this record, the Magistrates entirely prescribed and controlled their duties, under the conditions laid down in the act.

white loaf of Wheaten Flour marked with the initials of the Baker's name, be five pence currency.

QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN 8TH JULY, 1794.

Present :—Neil McLean, Hector McLean, Arch. McDonell, Alex'r Fisher, Nicholas Hagerman, Daniel Wright, T. W. Myers, Caleb Gilbert, Alex. Chisholm, John Peters, Thomas Dorland; Richard Ferguson.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the Precept.

The Grand Jury was called and sworn.

Alex. Chisholm, Foreman; Wm. R. Bowen, Jno. Huyck, Cornelius Vanhorn, Arch. Campbell, Solomon Huff, Jno. Dingman, Mat. Hale, Elisha Miller, Hy. Young, Jr., Jno. Richards, B. Dyer, John Stinsen, Sen., Barnabas Wimp, Jas. Wright, Wm. Harrison, Robt. Thomson, Peter Collier, Wm. Carson, Giliam Demorel, F. Ferguson, John Allen, John Moon.

Constables sworn to attend the Grand Jury—John Sills, Peter Cole.

[Unimportant cases tried.]

THE COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, OCT.

14, 1794.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, Hector McLean, Richard Ferguson, Richard Cartwright, Senr., Wm. Atkinson, Thomas Markland, Richard Porter, Hazelton Spencer.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the Precept.

The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

Jos. Forsyth, Robt. McCawly, Jacob Miller, Wm. Crawford, Donald McDonell, Peter Grass, Wm. Bell, Peter Detlor, Wm. Smith, Duncan Bell, Geo. Murdoff, Jno. Dennison, Luke Carscallion, Wm. Hunter, Davis Hawley, Francis Prime, Wm. Ramboch, Abraham Dafoe, James Colter, Jr., Jno. Sharpe, Joshua Booth.

A petition from Peter Irish and other Inhabitants of the District having been presented to the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury present to the Court that they will take into consideration the Report of the said Petition.

The magistrates in sessions assembled will give directions to the magistrates in the different Townships.

[Four cases of assault and battery.]

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN TUESDAY, 13TH JAN., 1795.

[Nothing of importance.]

SPECIAL SESSIONS HOLDEN AT KINGSTON, 7TH FEBRUARY, 1795.

Neil McLean, Wm. Atkinson, Thomas Markland.

Aron Brewer's division to commence at the west extremity of the Township in the third concession, and to continue down the forty-foot road to the second concession; also to open a road from the forty foot road to Arthur Orser's in the third concession.

Nicholas Whitesell's division to be the forty-foot road from the third concession to the fourth, the fourth concession line as far as he may find it necessary for the inhabitants settled there, and also the road from the fourth concession to join the mill road from Kingston.

David Brass's Division to comprehend all that part of the Town from the north side of the Market Square and the forty foot road to the Kingston Mills, also the road from the Town to the second concession.

Thomas Smith's Division to commence at the west end of the Township in the second concession and continue down to the creek. The forty foot road from the second concession to the third at Buck's.

Micajah Purdy's Division from the west end of the Township to the Cataraqui Creek in the front concession, all the forty foot road between lots No. 9 & 10 from the first concession to the third.

John Roushorn's Division from the Cataraqui Creek to the east end of the Township in the second concession, and from the Cataraqui Creek to the North side of the Market Square in the first concession, and the forty foot road between No. 17 and 18 from the first concession to the second.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, 14TH APRIL, 1795.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Neil McLean, Robert Clarke,

Wm. Atkinson, Timothy Thomson, John Dusenbury, Thomas Markland.

The Grand Jury called and sworn.

Wm. Johnson, Foreman; And. Thomson, Alex. Clarke, John Carscallion, Benj. Seymour, Jas. Richardson, Mat. Clarke, Dan'l Carr, Jno. Sharpe, Jephtha Hawley, Jonathan Miller, Nicholas Harkimer, Dan'l Fraser, Jos. Blunt, Wm. Fairfield, Jacob Ferguson, Sheldon Hawley, Jno. Williams, David Embury, Jno. Embury, Hy. Finkle.

WEDNESDAY, THE 15th APRIL, 1795.

The following persons are appointed Constables for the Midland District for the year ensuing, to serve until the end of the sessions in April, 1796.

Township of Kingston, Barnabas Day, Jno. Ferris.

Town of Kingston, Emmerson Busby, Titus Fitch.

Township of Pittsburg, Jno. Grant.

Township of Ernest Town & Amherst Island, Nath'l Alger, David Shory, Alex. McMullen.

Fredericksburgh, Sol'n Bush, Alphus Cadman, Jonas Vanalstine.

Adolphus Town, James Huff, Jonas Smith.

County of Hastings, Sam'l Rosebush.

Township of Richmond, Adam Segar.

Sophiasburgh, Peter Cole, Stephen Conger.

James Robertson, Cooper, of Kingston is nominated by the Magistrates in sessions to stamp measures¹.

It is ordered by the Magistrates assembled in Sessions that the Magistrates of the Township of Fredericksburg and the Township of Adolphus be appointed to form a Court of Requests, from there being only two Magistrates in the Township of Fredericksburgh.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, ADOLPHUS TOWN, 14TH JULY, 1795.

Magistrates present: Alex. Fisher, Thomas Dorland, Francis Pruyne, Caleb Gilbert, John Peters, Esqrs.

[Several cases assault and battery.]

¹ The 32nd Geo. III. Cap. III. establishes the English standards for weights and measures, and the Magistrates in Sessions are required to appoint an inspector who shall stamp the various measures in commercial use.

QUARTER SESSIONS, KINGSTON, 13TH OCTOBER, 1795.

Present : Richard Cartwright, Alex'r Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Wm. Atkinson, Thomas Markland.

It is ordered by the Magistrates assembled in open sessions that the sum of Twenty Eight Pounds be levied from Adolphus Town and the County of Prince Edward for Member's Wages, agreeably to an Act of Province, for the year 1793 for P. Vanalstine, Esq., Member for the said Counties.

It is ordered by the Magistrates assembled in open sessions, that the sum of Twenty Six Pounds be levied by assessment from the County of Prince Edward and Adolphus Town, for Member's Wages, agreeably to an Act of the Province, for the year 1794 for Major Vanalstine for the said counties.

It is ordered by the Magistrates assembled in open Sessions, that the sum of Twenty Six Pounds be levied by assessment from the County of Prince Edward and Adolphus Town for Member's Wages, agreeably to an Act of the Province, for the year 1795 for Major Vanalstine, for the said counties.

It is ordered by the Magistrates assembled in open session, that the sum of Twenty Eight Pounds be levied by assessment from the Counties of Addington and Ontario, for Member's wages, agreeably to an Act of the Legislature, for the year 1793, for J. Booth, Esq., for the said Counties.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open Sessions assembled, that the sum of Twenty Eight Pounds be levied from the Counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland, for Member's wages, agreeably to an Act of the Province, 1793 for H. Spencer, Esq., for said Counties.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open Sessions assembled that the sum of Twenty Seven Pounds be levied by assessment from the Counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland for Member's Wages, agreeably to an Act of the Province, for the year 1794, for H. Spencer, Esq., for said counties.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open Sessions assembled that the sum of Twenty Six Pounds be levied by assessment from the Counties of Lenox Hastings and Northumberland for Members Wages, agreeably to an act of the Province, for the year 1795, for H. Spencer, Esq., for said Counties.¹

¹ The Provincial act, in accordance with which these assessments were made, was the 33rd Geo. III. Cap. III. Section 30, which professes to follow in this mat-

The Magistrates in open Sessions assembled authorize and appoint Richard Cartwright, Wm. Atkinson and Thomas Markland, Esqs., as a Committee to contract for and superintend building a Gaol and Court House agreeably to a plan approved by the Magistrates¹.

AT A GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE FOR THE MIDLAND DISTRICT HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN ON TUESDAY
THE 12TH DAY OF JANUARY 1796.

Justices present :—Alex. Fisher, Thomas Dorland, Bryan Crawford, Peter Vanalstine, Esqrs.

Grand Jury sworn :—Wm. R. Bowen, Alex. Vanalstine, Paulus Trompour, Abrm. Maby, Wm. Carey, Cornelius Van Horn, Wm. More, Peter Ruttan, Paulus Huff, Reuben Beedle, Sam'l Gilbert, John Canniff, Benj. Clap, Michael Slote, John Embury, John Huyck, Peter Vallowe.

[One case of assault & battery disposed of.]

Ordered that the Court be adjourned to Friday, the 26th of January Instant. Then to meet at Daniel Cole's in Adolphus Town aforesaid.

TUESDAY, 26TH JAN'Y, 1796.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Present :—Peter Van Alstine, Alex. Fisher, Nicholas Hagerman, Thos. Dorland, Timothy Thompson, Thomas Markland, Richard Cartwright.

Mr. Markland and Mr. Cartwright, two of the members of the Committee appointed by the Session in October last to contract for and superintend the building of a Court House and Gaol for the District, produced a plan which was approved of. The expense is estimated at from nine hundred to one thousand

ter the ancient usage of England. Each member was to receive from the Speaker a warrant specifying the number of days during which he had attended the Assembly. On presentation of this, the member might demand from the Magistrates in Sessions, a remuneration at the rate of ten shillings per day, for his attendance. The Magistrates were authorized to levy, for this purpose, a special rate on the section represented by the member. As these special rates gave rise at first to a good deal of grumbling on the part of the people, several members did not at once apply for the allowance authorized, which accounts for the above applications for back pay.

¹ The act 32nd Geo. III. Cap. VIII. provided for the building of a gaol and court house in each district, specifying the location. For the Midland District they were to be in Kingston. The Justices in Quarter Sessions were to obtain and approve plans for the erection of the gaol and court house and were to let the contract for their erection. The expense was to be borne by the district.

pounds and the committee are requested to proceed to have the same executed.

As the late Treasurer A. McLean, Esq. hath vacated his office by removing out of the District, it is agreed unanimously that Thomas Markland, Esq. should be appointed Treasurer.

Thomas Markland and Alexander Fisher enter into a joint bond for the said T—— Markland's due performance of the office of Treasurer, in the penal sum of five hundred pounds.

MARCH 26TH, 1796.

AT A SPECIAL SESSION HELD BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE HIGHWAYS FOR THE COUNTY OF FRONTENAC.

Present: R. Cartwright, Wm. Atkinson, Thos. Markland.

Received the accounts and lists of the following overseers: Aaron Brewer, John Roushorn, Micajah Purdy, Thomas Smith.

Ordered, That Mr. Nicholas Herkimer take the same division and work the same road that were under the direction of Micajah Purdy the last session.

That Hugh Campbell should employ the people of his Division in opening and improving the road from the third to the fourth concession and along the first line of the fourth concession.

That Mr. John Roushorn, Mr. Thomas Smith and Mr. Aaron Brewer employ the inhabitants of their respective Divisions, which are comprised within the same limits as they were last year, in improving the same roads, and that the composition money,¹ as far as it will go, be applied towards finishing the bridges over the little River of Cataraqui in the second and first concessions.

Adjourned to Saturday, 2nd April.

Present, the same Commissioners.

Received the accounts of Nicholas Whitesil and David Brass.

It is ordered that Mr. David Brass retain the same division and employ the Inhabitants on the same roads as last session.

That Thomas Howland of Pittsburg shall have within his

¹ Section 13 of the road act allowed those subject to statute labor to compound for it by paying, to the overseer, six shillings per day for each team and driver, or three shillings per day in lieu of personal labor.

division all the Inhabitants from Mr D McDonell's farm inclusive, to the lower extremity of the said Township, and shall employ them in improving the roads from his own house to the extremity of the Township adjoining the Township of Leeds.

That John Grant shall have within his Division the remainder of the Inhabitants of the said Township and employ them in improving the roads from his own house to Mr. T. Howland's.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT KINGSTON THE 12TH
APRIL, 1796.

Present :—Rich'd Cartwright, Alex. Fisher, Timothy Thomson, Joshua Booth, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Peter VanAlstine, John Embury.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the Precept.

The Grand Jury was called and sworn.

Geo. Forsyth, Foreman, Robt McAuley, John Carscallan, Donald McDonell, Peter Smith, Joseph Anderson, Jephtha Hawley, James Robins, Alex. Clarke, Michael Grass, John Everitt, Benj'n Seymour, Henry Finkle, James Parrot, Francis Prime, Sam'l McLay, Jacob Miller, Matthew Clarke.

Titus Fitch & C. Burley, Constables, were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

The Court gave the charge to the Grand Jury.

All persons bound on recognizance were called.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open session that an entire rate be continued to be levied for the ensuing year.¹

¹ By the assessment acts 33rd Geo. III. Cap. III. and 34th Geo. III. Cap. VI. the inhabitant householders of the various parishes or townships were to be arranged by the assessors in ten classes according to the amount of their real and personal property, being from £50 to £100 in the first class, and from £500 to £550 in the tenth. The act prescribed a specific amount, called the *rate*, to be paid by each class, the rate for the first class being 2s. 6d. and for the tenth 25s. There were also a Lower and an Upper List, beyond these classes, the former rated at 2s. only, and the latter at 5s. on every £100 of assessed property. These amounts were to constitute a full rate which was fixed by the act, for the first two years 1794-95. Thenceforth the Magistrates in the April Sessions were to determine, after making an estimate of the expenditure for the year, what proportion of the rate should be levied. As stated above, the full rate was continued for 1796, but varying proportions were afterwards appointed. Numerous changes were made in the assessment act before 1812.

APRIL 13TH, 1796.

[One case of petty larceny and two of assault and battery were disposed of.]

APRIL 14TH, 1796.

John Carscallen and Alex. Clark were bound under recognizance in open sessions, of ten pounds each, to prosecute Wm. Rambach and Peter Detlor at the ensuing Quarter Sessions at Adolphus Town next July.

A Bench Warrant was granted (directed to the sheriff) by the magistrates in open sessions assembled, to apprehend Wm. Rambach and Peter Detlor to answer an Indictment at the ensuing Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

[Various accounts are ordered to be paid.]

The whole amounting to sixty four pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence Halifax currency, which shall be sufficient authority to the Treasurer to pay the above sums out of the public stock of the District.

The following persons were nominated and appointed constables for the term of one year for the Townships hereafter specified.

Mr. John McLeod, High Constable.

Thurlow, Philip Swich.

Adolphus Town, Garrat Benson, Samuel Brook.

Ernest Town, Richard Knight, Robinson Irish.

Amherst Isle, Colin McKenzie.

Marysburgh, James Gerolomy, Robt. Thomson.

Fredericksburgh, John Kemp, Jacob Finkle.

Richmond, Lambert Vanalstine.

Town of Kingston, Win. Good, Henry Cassidy.

Township of Kingston, John Moss, Michael Diderich.

Sophiasburg, Abraham Cronch, Peter D. Sidney Conger.

Pittsburg, Samuel Howland.

[JULY 1796, ADOLPHUS TOWN.]

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open sessions assembled that the sum of twenty five pounds currency be levied upon the inhabitants of the County of Lenox and part of Prince Edward County, for Member's wages, agreeable to an act of the Province for the year 1796.

BOOK REVIEWS.

University Sermons. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. Toronto: Upper Canada Tract Society, 1898.

These noble sermons ought to be in the hands of every preacher. The late Principal Caird was, perhaps, the greatest master of pulpit oratory of our day, and it is of the first importance that all who are engaged in the work of the ministry should try to discover, and as far as possible to master, the secret of his power. No doubt this is only partially practicable. In a sense the preacher, like the poet, "is born, not made"; but it is not the less true that preaching is one of the higher arts, which may be acquired by any one who labours diligently in the mastery of it. It would be too much to expect that every preacher should possess such a combination of qualities as made Dr. Caird's influence a potent and irresistible spell. Not only had he undergone the severest intellectual discipline; not only did he unite imaginative power with intellectual depth and clearness, but he had at command an elocutionary excellence hardly inferior to that of a first-rate actor. It was this extraordinary union of qualities, combined with spiritual enthusiasm, that resulted in such potency and charm as is not likely to be soon exhibited in the same degree. The master's power cannot be attained by the disciple, but the disciple may learn much from the master.

A careful reading of these sermons will to some extent explain the extraordinary effect they invariably produced in the mind of the listener. It will be observed that it is no cheap road to popularity which Principal Caird seeks. Each of these sermons will bear the closest scrutiny, and the solidity of their content will be only the more apparent the more carefully they are studied. No man ever had a greater power of making unfamiliar ideas obvious. Take, for example, the sermon on "Evil working through Good." At first sight no topic would seem less likely to be popular, or to be capable of simple and forcible statement; and yet Dr. Caird has made it glow with the fervour of intellectual and spiritual enthusiasm. Starting, as he often did, from one of the paradoxical sayings in which Scripture abounds—"Sin, that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good"—the preacher goes on to show that it is the natural expression of a profound spiritual truth. "The revelation of a law of truth and righteousness and goodness, the natural and inherent tendency of which is to awaken the conscience and kindle the spiritual aspirations, to cultivate and perfect the higher life of the soul, may be turned into the means of the deeper moral ruin.....Sin, that it may appear sin, that it may

betray to the full extent its disastrous and detached nature, may work death in us by that which is good." For the further working out of this truth we must refer the reader to the weighty words of the preacher.

In another discourse the problem is discussed: "Is Unbelief a Sin?" This perplexing question is here answered in a highly suggestive way. But, indeed, the reader will find in every page of this volume something worthy of his most careful reflexion. The volume, as a whole, may be regarded as a partial and successful attempt to express the essence of Christianity in a form to bring its truth home to those for whom traditional modes of speech have become unmeaning, without employing the abstract language of philosophy, which to the untrained mind is almost unintelligible. Dr. Caird's conception of the preacher's function seems to be the true one, viz., to mediate between the highest results of speculative thought and the ordinary life, by giving to permanent truths the concrete life and breadth, which are revealed only to those who have the highest spiritual experience and can give an account of what it is.

JOHN WATSON.

The *Studio* of London (Eng.), for September, has no lack of good things for its readers, whether learned or unlearned in the ways of art. It covers a wide range of subjects interesting in themselves and rendered doubly attractive by the illustrations accompanying each article.

The opening paper on the portrait painting of the American artist, Cecilia Beaux, is of special value to those who are interested in watching the progress of this branch of art in America, where the old conventional traditions of portrait painting have been superseded by the simplicity and directness of the modern school of Sargent and others. The examples of Miss Beaux' work are particularly well chosen and reproduced, and those in the excellent paper on Modern German Lithography are also well worthy of notice, particularly some striking reproductions in colour of the works of Thoma, Kampf and Eitner. Considerable space is given to the National Competition at South Kensington, and here again are very beautiful examples of the work done in so many and so varied branches of Art. The result must, we think be encouraging to those desiring to see the increase of applied art in new directions. It is difficult to believe that the exquisite and artistic productions of the needle here illustrated bear even the remotest connection with the equally striking if less harmonious creations of our grandmothers. The larger part of the competitors appear to be women, who in designing, metal work, and other departments can fully hold their own. The ex-

cellent reproductions from E. Borough Johnson's Sketch Book are especially charming and worthy of notice. The *Studio* is entirely devoted to the state of modern art, both fine and applied, and the careful and artistic illustrations in every department do much to give the reader an intelligent appreciation of what is being done in the various departments of Art. This is a matter of no small importance to those whose interest in these matters can only be satisfied through the medium of paper and ink.

L. S.

CURRENT EVENTS.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S CAREER.

WHEN Mr. Gladstone astonished the people of Great Britain in 1886 by announcing his measure of Home Rule for Ireland as the first and foremost thing on the Liberal programme, it was well known that the bulk of the Liberal party doubted and disapproved. Even in Scotland, where the name of Gladstone operated like a talisman on the middle and working classes, there was no enthusiasm for the measure. In the higher places of the party there were evident signs of consternation and dismay. Amongst the local leaders throughout the country the recusants were many and amongst the most eminent in point of intellect and influence. But on the whole the working men, the basis of the Liberal party, were inert on the subject, and not inclined to desert their famous leader on a question which did not seem to affect them directly. The power, too, of the party organisation, of the caucus, was great, especially over the average member of Parliament and the small local politician whose position and power depend much more on the resources of the party than on his own. And the party organisation was tied to the great name of Mr. Gladstone. So the Liberal associations after a moment of doubt and hesitation grew consenting, and even, as the battle went on, outwardly fervent on behalf of Home Rule. The associations were successful in keeping the bulk of the party together, and after a little time in whipping in many of the recusants, the most notable case being that of Sir George Trevelyan, who had his reward when the turn of the Liberal party came, in the secretaryship for Scotland, but sank irretrievably in public estimation, and finally abandoned the sphere of politics.

The position of the Liberal Unionist member seemed indeed a precarious one. As a rule he could be elected only by the

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help of Conservative votes and by reason of an excitement on the subject of Home Rule, which he knew could hardly be maintained at its full heat till another election. He might win for once, but what was to become of him in after years without the backing of either of the two great party organisations, with no patronage to bestow, and small prospect of influence whichever party was in power. You cannot found a party on a negation. It may safely be said that below the exultation which every Liberal Unionist member expressed over his victory at the polls of 1886, there lay a feeling of discouragement and doubt of the future. Nobody comprehended how it could continue to exist as a party, and the Liberal organs freely prophesied its speedy extinction after the excitement of the time had passed; they reminded its leaders that the British public has the historic reputation of disliking 'caves,' coalitions, and all deviations from the grand party lines, and warned them that they were making a foolish sacrifice of their reputation and prospects.

To lead this forlorn hope, to guide this small party wisely amongst the strong currents and intrigues of party politics, to justify its delicate and ambiguous position in the constant conflict of Conservative and Liberal principles, to keep the Conservative policy on a path in which it was possible for men of professed Liberal opinions to work, to control Conservatives without irritating them, to oppose Liberal statesmen while generally maintaining Liberal principles, and through all this to keep its line of action clear, consistent and intelligible in the eyes of the British public, this was a work which could not have been done except by leaders for whose character and ability their Conservative allies and the country in general had a profound respect.

Yet this is the work which Mr. Chamberlain has performed during all these years with consummate skill and success. In the early stage of the contest the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Hartington, stood also conspicuously in the front. The calm and candid judgment of that head of the great house of Cavendish is still a power in the country, of a less public and popular kind than Mr. Chamberlain's, but hardly less weighty. No men had such splendid prospects in connection with the Liberal party to sacrifice as these two had. Under Mr. Gladstone always, they were the chiefs of the two great sections of the Liberal party, the Moderates and the Radicals. Had they remained in it, Lord Roseberry would not have won his place so easily, and there would have been no question of Sir William Harcourt or Mr. Campbell-Bannerman for the headship of the party. There could hardly be a clearer case of the sacrifice of great prospects to a sense of duty, or at least of the choice for conscience sake of a hard and almost impracticable road instead of an easy and beaten one. No doubt it is some deep sense of this that has

kept Mr. Chamberlain right with the nation in spite of an obvious change in his political tone, and one grave mistake at least in his management of colonial affairs. Nothing but the respect which the nation generally felt for his conduct at a great crisis could have enabled him to maintain himself for so many years in a delicate and ambiguous position, and not only to maintain himself, but markedly to increase his power and reputation. Dear as he was to the Radical heart in his early days, I doubt if he would ever as a Radical leader have touched the imagination of the English people as he did by the pluck and patriotism he showed in the Home Rule contest. At the head of a numerically insignificant party, his personality and influence are dominant things to-day in the government of the Empire.

No doubt in accounting for the stability of this alliance between a powerful Conservative party and the small body of Liberal Unionists, something must be credited to the good sense and the magnanimity of the Conservative leaders. Indulgence in small jealousies or rivalries, a narrow view of what their claims and rights were, would have been fatal. But unless he possessed in some eminent degree the respect of the country at large, Mr. Chamberlain in a Conservative ministry would only have been an embarrassment and a source of weakness to that party. Without that public respect, without the certainty that the occasion was highly honourable to both sides, any coalition between the Marquis of Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain would have fallen as that of Lord North and Fox fell, amidst the jeers and contempt of all parties. For Fox and North were not more opposed by their principles, not more separated from each other by their political history, their past utterances and the sharpness of their personal conflict, than the leader of the Conservatives and the leader of the Liberal Unionists were. But it was in vain that the Radical newspapers imitated the moral indignation of Pitt and "forbade the banns" in this "unholy alliance." The English people discerned that, strange as the alliance was, it was founded on honour and probity; they made it victorious at the polls of 1886 and, again, at those of 1895; they are supporting it to this day. The different fate of the two coalitions is an admirable lesson given by the English nation to its political leaders.

Yet the career of Mr. Chamberlain, like that of most eminent men, seems to owe something to fortune as well as to great abilities. The stars in their courses have proved not unfriendly to him. The generosity of Conservatives, the sympathy of the country for his position, his own skill as a tactician, all these would not have availed to maintain Mr. Chamberlain in his equivocal position unless something in

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Conservatism.

the nature of a fundamental change in the political atmosphere had taken place, something that made it possible for men of Liberal tendencies to work harmoniously and honestly with men of Conservative tendencies. Two things have made this possible. The first is the rise of the new Conservatism, of which Mr. Balfour perhaps, rather than the Marquis of Salisbury, is the exponent. This type of Conservative sees clearly that a wise conservatism will never oppose itself blindly and impulsively to reform and reconstruction, but that on the contrary the only possible life for conservatism lies in its being ready to assist in every readjustment of the constitution or laws which is really needed to accommodate them to the growth of democratic forces. To distinguish such required adjustment from mere aspirations of the advanced Radicals which are not shared by the people generally has now become its task. And in this task the Liberal Unionist party, representing as it always did the moderate section of the Liberals, can very heartily co-operate. The alliance is natural and workable, and Mr. Chamberlain becomes in the new aspect of politics an educative influence in the councils of the Conservative party, and not a mere element of opposition and difference to which sacrifice must be grudgingly made.

But of recent years another new and even stronger bond of union has arisen between the Liberal Unionist and the Conservative. The policy of Imperialism, as it is called, has furnished the alliance of Liberal Unionists and Conservatives with a clear and assured ground for common action. At bottom the Imperialistic instinct is the instinct of a nation to make provision for the expansion of its race. Other instincts, it is true, both higher and lower, may co-operate with this. The instinct, strong in every great nation, to extend its type of civilisation, the moral ideals and discipline which it represents over barbarous and rude communities where nothing valuable to humanity is displaced; to put order instead of disorder—what Kipling has called “taking up the white man’s burden,” this has its due place in the great movement of Imperial expansion. The instinct to rule, to administer and discipline, the instinct of the old Roman, is but a cruder and at its best unconscious form of this. Lower forms of the instinct are not less active, the desire of the trader to open up new sources of traffic, of the artisan to possess new fields of industry, better chances in life, the greed of the capitalist to secure and control new markets; a variety of commercial interests, in short, legitimate and illegitimate, good, bad and indifferent, combine to swell this movement. No other movement of our times has been so universal and contagious

amongst the nations that feel themselves capable of pursuing it ; for no other movement appeals with equal power alike to the instincts of the statesman, the aristocrat, the financier, the trader and the artisan. Amongst these, no doubt, the instinct of the statesman is the fundamental and commanding one. A modern democratic empire like that of Great Britain requires to secure a wide field for its expansion, for the energies and ever growing aspirations of its democracy, which would otherwise become restless and a menace to social stability at home. No doubt at times this seems to be nothing else than a movement in which the British statesman and soldier are engaged in securing new and tempting fields of exploitation for the capitalist ; sometimes, I suppose, it is nothing else, and in other cases it may be difficult to separate this from the wider aims of Imperialism. For the statesman must often put forward the lower instinct to serve the higher cause.

The policy of Imperialism thus comes to be a bond of union between many classes who were previously more apt to find difference and opposition than identity in their interests. It is an instinct which has equal sway, as we see, over aristocracies and democracies, over Russia and Germany, over France and the United States. Adopted by the Conservative party as its special policy, it has given that party fresh vitality and a touch with the new democratic masses which of late it has rarely possessed, except when the British lion was in a rampant mood and the big drum beating defiance to Russia or some other traditional foe to British interests. Indeed to the angry Radical, Imperialism seems to be nothing but Jingoism under another name. Well, we do admit some affinity, perhaps even such a connection as exists between a disreputable parent and a well conducted son. For Imperialism is Jingoism reduced to reason, proceeding on a strict basis of economical facts and necessities, aware of the nature of its mission, and therefore able to see what is not included therein.

It is by a curious but still natural process of transformation that Mr. Chamberlain, nursed in the school of Cobden and the Manchester politicians, has become the chief exponent of Imperialism. The change is one which is very general in the class of great manufacturers to which he primarily belongs ; and the germ of Imperialism was already evident in his strong opposition to Home Rule. No doubt, had he remained in the Liberal party, a larger share of his energies would have been given to social reforms ; but as an ally of the Conservative party he has found a safer and perhaps a more important field of action in colonial affairs.

It is evident indeed that as a social legislator his popularity, if not his work, is gone. Legislation, like the Workmen's Compensation Bill, may be honest and well designed, but it cannot be carried out by a Conservative Government with the same brilliant effect upon the minds of the working classes as by a Radical government. For one thing it is not heralded in the party organs with fine phrases about the claims of the working men, and hints that it is only a foretaste of what they are to obtain, all that at present it is safe to ask from a nation still imbued with prepossessions in favour of property and capital. It is not and it cannot be loudly proclaimed by its imitators as a great victory over long-standing injustice and prejudice. No trumpets are blown or flags waved over it, either by the Conservative government that introduces it or by the Liberal party that dare not do otherwise than accept it. It is coolly accepted by the working-man as a dole. It excites no enthusiasm in his class, and it excites more or less irritation amongst the mass of employers who support the Unionist government. There is a certain weakness here in Mr. Chamberlain's position. What he said in his famous Hackney speech of 1885 against "the Tories," that "a democratic revolution is not to be accomplished by aristocratic perverts," now applies by the irony of fate to his own position. He may do and indeed has done good work in social legislation; he may even do it in a better spirit, a judicial and impartial spirit, not the exasperated spirit of party strife, but it has no longer quite the same effect upon the masses. With them, at least, his popularity must find some other means of support.

The chief features of Mr. Chamberlain's Imperial policy are the encouragement he has given to Imperial federation, his manner of dealing with the United States on Canadian questions, and his policy in the Transvaal. Some of these things are still dark to the outside public, and some have yet to be judged in their ultimate development. Perhaps even now we may give him at least the credit of a discretion and candour in these matters which have given no handle to the enemies of Great Britain. But the case of the Transvaal Republic is more open to public judgment. There he has had comparatively a free hand, and has decided to bring up for solution a difficulty which has long disturbed the South African portion of our empire. If that difficulty should prove insoluble except by war, he has certainly chosen the time well. Russia has her hands full in China. France is in no position to give trouble, and an understanding has evidently been arrived at with Germany that Great Britain is to settle the Transvaal difficulty without interference from that quarter.

The Transvaal Question. The question of the South African Boer dates a hundred years back. We owe our South African empire, like many other things of that kind, to the war-policy of the Tories against Napoleon.* While Napoleon thought he was adding Holland to the map of France, the Dutch colony at the Cape, left masterless, fell into the hands of Great Britain. In ordinary circumstances there is no reason why the Boers should not have continued to live under the ægis of the British empire as quietly and in the same independent manner as Frenchmen do in the province of Quebec. No doubt the situation is more trying, the two races being mingled and nearly balanced in the same areas. But, on the other hand, there is no conflict of faiths or churches, no high type of civilisation such as that of France to suffer displacement or diminution; no historic struggle of races, centuries old, to keep the Englishman and the Boer apart in their new home. As a matter of fact the greater number of South African Dutch have settled down quietly under the British empire and live along with their British fellow-citizens in freedom and a fair amount of harmony. What is it, then, that makes a South African question at all? What is it that every now and then disturbs the whole of our South African empire and obstructs its natural growth and consolidation, under the ordinary influences of trade and population? Apparently it is this, that a certain number of the Boers hating civilisation, partly, it may be, for some of the vices which accompany it, but also because civilisation as represented by the British government interfered with *their* vices, their practice of enslaving the native, their disdain of arts and industries, their nomadic and half savage habits, resolved to escape from it. Hundreds of miles north they trekked, a party of them finally crossing the Vaal in 1836, dispossessing the natives there, and laying the foundation of the Transvaal or South African republic. It is from these Transvaal Boers, numbering in all about 85,000, that all the troubles of South Africa come. Civilisation has again overtaken them. The influx of British settlers threatens to absorb their peculiar type of civilisation and to overthrow their supremacy. They seek to defend themselves by refusing the British settlers political status and rights of representation, and by a social legislation against them which is nothing short of persecution. Nowhere in the world do men of white race live under more unequal and oppressive laws. Although they outnumber the Boers by 2 to 1 they have no real vote. They are at the mercy of law courts, which are mere agents of the Boer oligarchy. Although they contribute $\frac{1}{10}$ ths of the public revenue, they have nothing to say in the spending of it. Their language

*A policy much jeered at by Fox, Brougham, and the Whigs of those days as a going in search of sugar plantations and cocoa-nuts, instead of fighting Napoleon.

is proscribed in the schools and the law courts. Their industries are harassed by absurd tariffs and monopolies and charges. Politically and legally they are in a condition of serfdom.

The advocates of the Boer cause do not deny these grievances ; they only deny Britain's right to interfere with this small community of autocrats established in the midst of her South African empire. On this subject they make subtle legal arguments, as if the Transvaal were an independent power, like Russia or the United States, instead of being, as it is, a half-civilized state saved probably from extinction at the hands of the Zulus by the intervention of Britain in 1875, and placed clearly in the position of a dependent state even by the Convention of 1884, a convention made under a promise from the Boers that they would give the British settler just and equitable treatment. They argue as if the matter concerned a state which lay a thousand miles off in the ocean, instead of being planted right in the midst of British South Africa, obstructing the natural growth of the colonies, able at any time to threaten the great commercial routes to the north, and constantly engaged in stirring up every mutinous element in that quarter of the empire. We do not mean to say that these things alone make out a case for the interference of the British government, but we say it is idle to argue as if these things did not exist and were not important facts in Britain's claims. To neglect them is to do as much injustice to the British nation as the maddest Jingo would be ready to do to the Boers. Under whose strong protecting hand has this South African Empire, including the communities of Boers, grown up into prosperity and with all the advantages of internal freedom and self-government ? Who saved them from the grasp of Napoleon and the tyranny of that autocratic rule that was felt in St. Domingo ? Who protected them when they could not have protected themselves, against all possible hazards, against the bureaucratic tyranny of a French master, or very possibly, nearer our own times, from the autocratic severity of a German one, for a master they would certainly have had. Holland, which since 1796 has been the plaything of Congresses and diplomatists, could hardly have preserved so tempting a possession on what was once the great sea route to the East, and is now the grand basis for South African trade and colonisation. It has fallen to the lot of Great Britain to nurse this once feeble colony into the dimensions of a great state ; she has trained and disciplined it, spent British lives and British money freely on its behalf, helped it to put down the native savagery around it, and taught it to do that work as humanely as possible ; she has aided it to plant industries, to open up routes, and develop itself commercially. She has contributed almost all the

capital and energy, and nearly half the population which has made the South African empire. She has carried it safely through all hazards of native warfare and internal dissensions to this hour. In spite of its dangerous mixture of races, nearly balanced in power, it enjoys a substantial tranquility which nothing but British authority, the *pax anglicana*, could give it.

We should like to know what Mr. Morley would consider a good foundation or origin for a claim of suzerainty in such a case; or, to speak in plain terms, for a right to interfere in the affairs of the Transvaal. We think we can confidently put the foundation we have stated against that of any other suzerainty or paramountcy, or right of interference, French, German or Russian, which we know of at this day. To deny Great Britain's right to press the claims of British settlers for representation in the Transvaal, and to put an end to a dangerous and unsettling condition of affairs in her South African empire, is to see things under the light of a narrow legalism, which has never contributed anything effectual to solve such questions.

We have not space here to do more than mark the essential points in Mr. Chamberlain's management of this difficult question.

First, he has chosen his time prudently, as we have already explained. Second, he has reduced the demands of the British government to the lowest possible point by the concession that British subjects receiving the franchise in the Transvaal should cease to be under the immediate protection of British law. The Boer and the Outlander are to be left to regulate their own house. Third, after wisely asserting Great Britain's suzerainty or right of interference as a right not to be discussed, he has as wisely refrained from insisting on a formal recognition of it. If the Boers accord a genuine exercise of the franchise to British settlers, the formal question of suzerainty is not likely to be revived. But if the Boers attempt to nullify that concession of the franchise, as they have done in times past by disingenuous restrictions, then the claim of suzerainty or right of interference will naturally reappear as the embodiment of Great Britain's right to see that the future of British South Africa is decided by the free growth of its population, and not compromised by the machinations of the Transvaal Boers with some foreign power.

Unfortunately for the Transvaal Boers, the Transvaal question cannot be considered as *merely* a Transvaal question. Can the Boers expect to do what the splendid aristocracies of Europe failed to do, to defy the industrial democracy that is at their doors, to exclude the ideas of constitutional rule and justice which it brings with it, and to live in a kind of rude aris-

Really an economic,
not an international,
question.

tocracy of the seventeenth century with their subject whites and natives? Is it their rudeness that gives them such peculiar rights in the eyes of Mr. Morley and Mr. Stead; is it the fact that they are half-civilized and wholly ignorant, and do not call themselves counts and marquises, that entitles them to say to advancing civilisation, "Thus far and no farther?" Personally I have the same kind of sympathy, though not the same degree of it, with the cause of the Boers, as I have for the decayed prestige and power of the valorous Piedmontese aristocracy, or the gentry of the Scottish Highlands and the patriarchal system of the clans. They, too, with their shepherds and mountaineers, could and would have held their own except for "outside interference" and an "alien" civilisation which broke in upon them. But Mr. Stead would regard the latter as a strange sentimental weakness.

The change which threatens the Transvaal Boers is an economic one, and not one created by the intervention of the soldier or diplomatist. Economic changes of this kind are so evidently irresistible, wherever Western civilisation has established itself, that it is reasonable to think President Kruger's determined opposition has a graver meaning than merely to preserve ten or twenty years longer the rude isolation of the Transvaal Boer. If that were all, the Scotch skippers of 40 years ago, whose little brigs and brigantines used to ply a thriving trade between the Baltic ports and the east coast of Scotland, might as well have taken up arms and posted themselves in the Sound of Elsinore to keep the new steamships that ruined their trade out of Dantzic and Pernau. Their small traffic was inevitably destroyed, and with it their independent status as a class of shipowners; but from another point of view they, or their sons, were merely transformed into smart captains of S.S. with gold lace on their caps, and occasionally R.N.R. after their names, and in some cases even into opulent line owners. So, we hope, will it be with the Boers. There is always, of course, something to regret in such changes, but they are, as Oom Paul must by this time know, the law of the times in which we live.

As to the dangers of an Afrikaner revolt and the racial war, with which Mr. Bryden and others threaten us, will Mr. Bryden guarantee us that they will be removed, or even made less, by concession to the Transvaal State? Will they not rather be increased and made inevitable? If this is the state of the case the Empire is either equal to its responsibilities, or it is not. If it is, 30,000 Dutch Boers, were they even, in Mr. Bryden's figures, 90,000, need not drive it from its path. But unless the Dutch in Africa form one grand conspiracy to overthrow British authority, we can see no reason for

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such a revolt. The British government is not seeking to impose a foreign system or an arbitrary law on the Boers of the Transvaal. It is contending for constitutional principles of representation which are recognized in the whole of the South African empire with the exception of the Boer State. The great principles of modern democracy, the right of self-government, the rights of representation, and of the majority are with her here, and not against her. Is it credible that the Afrikanders of Cape Colony should, as a mass, put their lives and their fortunes to a desperate hazard, in order to oppose democratic principles of government under which they themselves enjoy as a race their political liberty? We are quite aware of the power of racial sentiment, when supported by solid grievances. But when the indulgence of it could not really add an iota to their political and social freedom, or to their security, or to the purity of their administration and laws, when it would rather diminish all these as well as their trade and prosperity, then mere racial sentiment, though it may help to stir up the Transvaal Boers to defend their oligarchy, is not likely to plunge some 30,000 male Afrikanders of Cape Colony into war with a great state.

However it may end, we think that Mr. Chamberlain is to be commended for bringing this grave question before the country, instead of allowing it to slumber and perhaps some day to wake up threateningly at a critical juncture in foreign affairs. It is clearly a case of 'the longer, the worse.' If the absolute rule of the Boer oligarchy is not only an injustice to the British settlers, but also gives a dangerous point of vantage for the intrigues of foreign states, then the blood to be spilt and the risk to be run are certainly less now than they will be hereafter.

That Mr. Chamberlain's manner of handling the affair has been moderate and well calculated to bring the facts of the situation before the country is evident, and may atone for any mistaken indulgence which he may have shown to the ill-advised affair of the Jameson raid.

The virulence with which foreign enemies of the British Empire attack Mr. Chamberlain, in preference even to Lord Salisbury, is a significant fact. Like some of our home critics they will even admit merit in Salisbury that they may damn Mr. Chamberlain more judicially. A Russian agent like Mr. Vladimir Holmstrem, writing in fierce hate of England (see the July number of the *North American Review*, article *Ex Oriente Lux*,) will observe some measure in his language when speaking of Lord Salisbury or Lord Curzon, but he loses his temper when he mentions Mr. Chamberlain and breaks out in opprobrious epithets. That gentleman he calls a "renowned conjuror." Mr. Holm-

A Russian critic of
Mr. Chamberlain.

strem assures Americans that the friendly feeling Mr. Chamberlain freely expressed for them during the late war was a pretence which is not likely to be kept up now that Great Britain has obtained an understanding with Germany; and the probability that England in her desire to prevent German interference in the Transvaal has conceded something to Germany in the Samoan affair is ingeniously used in proof of the writer's view. It is insinuated that Great Britain would have opposed the Americans in their occupation of the Philippines but for "a hostile Europe at their backs."* It is also suggested in the curiously indirect language which characterizes Mr. Holmstrom's statements that Mr. Chamberlain having secured the friendship of Germany, is now pressing the Alaskan question in an unfriendly spirit "against the United States." But the language in which he suggests this would almost defy contradiction, not because it is true, but because it is so vague and elliptical. "Matters (he writes), have changed since then; the cousins of the Americans have sought and all but gained the friendship of Germany, and that renowned conjurer, Mr. Chamberlain, once so enthusiastic about an Anglo-American alliance, now attempts to swallow two swords at once: one, Canada, on the Western continent; the other Germany, in Europe. Both are directed against the United States." As if a friendly conference to put an end to disputes between Canadian and American miners were an act of hostility on Mr. Chamberlain's part! The truth is, that Mr. Chamberlain, has shown the greatest sincerity and steadiness in his American sympathies. Of all the members of the present government he is the most 'American' in his temperament and methods,† the quickest to understand the feeling of that great but susceptible democracy, the likeliest to maintain our diplomatic relations with them on the cordial footing which the British nation desires. Lord Salisbury, indeed, permitted

*The style of Mr. Holmstrom is psychologically interesting as a studied expression of deception; the clearest specimen indeed we have ever seen of the natural language of tergiversation. Let our readers consider this sentence: "It is now universally admitted that the friendship exhibited toward the Americans by their 'cousins across the water' during the Hispano-American war and the Philippine difficulties, was due to the fact that the English realized the danger they would run in defying the great American Republic, with a hostile Europe at their backs to emphasize their isolation." What is the impression the writer means to leave on the mind of the reader by this sentence? It is that the British would have opposed the occupation of the Philippines except for the existence of a hostile Europe, hostile, inferentially, to such an act; a statement which, of course, conveys a double falsehood. But almost all that the strict logical meaning of the sentence, when carefully examined, amounts to, is that the friendship shown by the English to the Americans during their war with Spain was owing to their sense of their isolated position in Europe; a statement which it is difficult to deny, far as it is from representing the whole truth.

†I mean that he knows *when* to drop the dignified reserve of the old school and take the people into his confidence, to lift the diplomatic veil and clear his position from misrepresentation. That is the only safe way now.

himself one useless remark about the seriousness of the American advent in the Philippines; but in Mr. Chamberlain's utterances there was never any shadow of doubt, and in this respect he truly represents the mind of the British people in general.

The peculiar contempt, therefore, which the author of *Ex Oriente Lux* affects in speaking of Mr. Chamberlain may be taken, in a writer of that stamp, as a pretty accurate though inverted expression of the importance of Mr. Chamberlain's work in promoting a good understanding between the States and the British Empire. Mr. David Mills, our Canadian Minister of Justice, may console himself with a similar reflection when he is accused of "ignorant and uncultured Russophobia" by Mr. Holmstrom. There must have been something in his article exceedingly damaging to that gentleman's views. Yet let us say that we do not mean in all this to confound the character of the Russian nation and its mission in the East with the character of the Russian political agent. To Prince Oohktomsky (who writes an introduction to the article) and to Mr. Holmstrom the whole thing is simply a professional game. If there are a hundred readers of the North American Review who are likely from their prejudices against Great Britain to believe such assertions, then Prince Oohktomsky will make them, or cause them to be made, as a matter of business. It costs little or nothing, he no doubt thinks, and it will always help. If there were a hundred more who could be made to believe that Mr. Chamberlain was aiming at the subversion of the republican institutions of America and setting up a regal throne in that land of freedom as Joseph the First, with his eldest son as the Prince Royal of Massachusetts and Grand Duke of the Wabash, then we are convinced that Prince Oohktomsky would equally feel it to be his duty to give currency to those assertions.

The latter part of Mr. Holmstrom's article calls in the aid of a mystical philosophy in which the far East figures as the centre of spiritual enlightenment for the world, of which process of course, Russia's absorption of the khanates and advance on China are a part. We have nothing to say against any reasonable view of Russia's mission in the East; we wish it all success. But what kind of an audience, we cannot help asking ourselves, does this Russian gentleman think worth while addressing in such language? *Ex Oriente Lux*; Light out of the East! Yes, but it has been a light shining but feebly there, in the midst of darkness, and despotism, and the profound debasement of millions bending under the yoke of the taskmaster. *Ex Oriente Lux*! Yes, but also, as all men know, an unrivalled mendacity! There is a certain type of theosophy-

The Light of
the East.

loving American who is not unsusceptible to the kind of mysticism with which Mr. Holmstrom's article concludes. Perhaps it is meant mainly for the disciples of Madame Blavatsky.

Mr. Holmstrom's article has led me further than I intended. I introduced the subject as an illustration of the manner in which the declared enemies of the British Empire single out Mr. Chamberlain for abuse. Against him particularly the criticism of the Radical partisan, of the doctrinaire, of the Irish member, and of every mutinous element within our widespread empire, and of every hostile element without it is directed with a unanimity which was the honourable distinction of William Pitt in other days, when the struggle was fiercer and the odds far greater against us than they are now.

But with all his abilities what the future of Mr. Chamberlain can be is far from clear. Recent events have almost undermined the foundation of the Liberal Unionist party. Mr. Chamberlain's personality is nearly all that holds it together and gives it standing in the eyes of the nation. Home Rule has been excluded from the Liberal programme; a strong section of the Liberal party under Lord Roseberry and Mr. Asquith professes a policy of Imperialism as fervid as his own; Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley, and the Radicals have been put under the curb, to satisfy the moderate Liberal. Where is Mr. Chamberlain to look for his following? Only to a few Liberal constituences where his personal influence and that of the Duke of Devonshire are great, and a few more whose distrust of Mr. Morley and Mr. Labouchere is greater than their dislike of Salisbury and Conservatism. Even as it is now, all the help of the Conservatives cannot make his position a comfortable one. Amongst Conservatives he is like Samson amongst the Philistines, shorn of his strength. His social legislation is inevitably still-born. He has none of the liberties which a great leader can take naturally with his party, without giving offence. He must be always on the watch; he can afford few blunders and no tactical mistakes. He has a host of enemies with a particular grudge against him. Irish Home Rulers who will never forgive that great disappointment of 1886, Gladstonian Radicals who will always remember, not that he saved his country from great evils, but that he rent his party; and all those besides who either openly or under cover of economic and political theories are foes of the British empire, all these are bitter enemies of the Secretary for the Colonies. Nor is there any shelter for him in the Conservative camp as a Conservative. The English people will pardon a youthful renegade like Mr. Gladstone or Disraeli, but they will have nothing to do with a chief who changes his party colours. They have respected Mr.

Mr. Chamberlain's
Future.

Chamberlain's position hitherto, they remember its honourable origin, but a Liberal he must remain, even if it should be a Liberal fighting like Hal o' the Wynd 'for his own hand.'

Mr. Chamberlain is a *novus homo*, the first of the industrial middle class who ever obtained a commanding position in Imperial affairs. He was educated for a commercial life, and was nearly forty before he retired from business and entered upon his parliamentary career. When he was elected for Birmingham in 1876, his reputation as a Radical was such that aristocratic members of the House pretended surprise to see him appear in a well cut coat and speak excellent English. This is a period of Mr. Chamberlain's career of which I have not spoken, that early period when he condemned the annexation of the Transvaal, denounced the policy of a "scientific frontier," and delighted to point the contrast between the House of Lords and the American Senate. But we have all learned something since these days. There has been a great reaction against the Manchester criticism of institutions and its Little England policy in external affairs. It is true there is nothing fundamentally inconsistent in his present position with his utterances in those early days. The Conservative party has changed as much at least as he has. That ideal of "the reign of the democracy" which used to figure in his speeches may be his ideal still; but doubtless he has now a wider conception of its meaning and other ideas as to the spirit and manner in which it should be brought about. His early speeches have the tone of a somewhat acrid, exultant Radicalism, confident in its future and seeing no real difficulties anywhere in its programme; there is nothing but a vista of popular successes before him then, with the whole strength of the Liberal party and the favour of the masses at his back; and a vision at the end of it all of Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister of Great Britain. But there was a harder road before him than he thought, with a less dazzling prospect at the end; it is highly honourable to him that he did not flinch from entering upon it.

But the political instinct of the British people is on the whole very sound. It is especially sound in its tendency to allow at least as much to honour and character as to mere ability in the choice of political leaders. One fair glimpse of meanness in a politician, of want of courage, or magnanimity, or sincerity, at proper occasions, a suspicion of personal interests rather than party or national ones will ruin him, however clever he may be, for a first place. The imputation of a boodling affair, or a financial 'transaction,' or an unlucky connection with an unsubstantial stock company,

A "novus
homo."
The British people's
instinct in politics.

ruins him for any place and for ever, though he has toiled for years with credit, in the service of the country. On the other hand they will reward honesty and courage in a politician even if they do not quite believe in his policy. They listen with great respect to Mr. Morley when he tells them they are a "pirate empire," and ought to be ashamed of themselves; but though they give him an eminent position, they take care not to put the control of foreign affairs into his hands. "Natural hypocrisy!" cries the foreign critic. Well, perhaps it doesn't much matter what he calls it, as long as it acts with admirable prudence in maintaining a certain balance of things, in maintaining a William Pitt in power and supporting a Fox to keep him within limits; in securing for a Wilkes or a Bradlaugh full justice and even a fitting reward, but firmly reserving the control of affairs for another kind of man. It is possible that so discriminating a public may continue to maintain Mr. Chamberlain as a power in the country, and make it worth while for the Conservatives to give him a place in their Cabinets, although his following should be reduced to a baker's dozen. But the position would be unique for our time.

JAMES CAPPON.

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SULPICIUS SEVERUS.

Caelestem quodammodo laetitiam vultu praeferens. Vita Martini 27.

IN the Christian movement as in most other movements of mankind two tendencies display themselves in constant reaction and interaction, the tendencies to make the group and the individual the unit of life. Great conceptions underlie them both. The one is that of a society ordered and organized, part answering to part, and all but parts of one stupendous whole, a majestic imperial system embracing mankind, every man in his proper sphere, star differing from star in glory but all moving harmoniously on their several orbits. The other is that of a life resting on communion with God, a life each man must live for himself, for in this relation no intermediary is tolerable or possible, a life dependent on no system or organization but above and beyond the reach and scope of systems and their makers, for the wind bloweth where it listeth and so is every one that is born of the spirit. Both conceptions, it may be said, can be held by the same mind at once, and perhaps under ideal circumstances they are not incompatible, but where the circumstances are not ideal there is apt to be a preference given to one as against the other, and the result is apt to be extravagance and reaction.

The story of the Church is full of these alternate reactions. St. Paul, if any man, stood for the freedom of the individual to live his own spiritual life, and St. Paul wrote the Epistles to the Corinthians, for he could not love an individualism run mad and unshackled. Ignatius to correct the disorders of Docetism laid stress on episcopal order, and thence came the Catholic Church, and within

a century reaction came under Montanus who pled for the emancipation of the Holy Spirit from the yoke of the bishop. Half a century later, when the Roman bishops had denounced Montanism and the Church system was crystallizing, the persecution of Decius started the same conflict over again between the order of the Church and the purity of Christian life, and Novatianus made a stand for holiness, though here the Catholic principle asserted itself and he organized the great Puritan Church of the Novatians. With the triumph of Constantine came the triumph of the Church, the Nicene and the following Councils, and the age of Court bishops and metropolitans, when the Church was deluged by a secular society, when bishops fought for creeds and richer sees, when spiritual arms were abandoned for bludgeons and the victories of faith were changed for those of George and Damasus, whose followers made him Pope at the cost of one hundred and thirty-seven lives. Reaction might have been expected and it duly came. It was at this time, we are told, that the monastic communities of the Egyptian god Serapis were converted to Christianity, and simultaneously there appeared in the same regions and among men of the same race, the Coptic race, the earliest Christian monachism. Anthony and Paul are nowadays dismissed very properly from history to the realm of fiction. But at all events now was the day when Christians began to take to the desert to seek there that perfection and holy living they found impossible in the Church life of the cities. If the movement began with the Copts, it did not end with them. It spread the world over. And then reaction, for the monks, the individualists of the Church of the day, and wild and extreme ones too, began very soon to organize, and we read that in the Egyptian deserts the first of virtues was obedience to the Abbot under any and every circumstance—a virtue, experience would shew, of somewhat doubtful worth. Later on St. Benedict organized the monks of the West. With each fresh outburst of spiritual life there followed a new order. Friars were the sign of a revolt against the monasteries, as they had been and were against the bishops, for the religious orders were subject to the Pope and independent of the local episcopate. The Reformation was a great revolt of the individual against bishop and monk and friar, and when it imposed English prelate and Scotch presbyter

on the Church, George Fox led a great revolt against both, as later on John Wesley did likewise in spite of himself. Both organized fresh societies, with very different degrees of individual freedom in thought and worship. Here it would be well to halt, though it should be remarked in the case of all these movements that, while they represent the desire for higher life, there are rarely wanting men whose character might give ground for believing that revolts and secessions are unnecessary for the maintenance of Christian piety, or, at all events, that nowhere is there a monopoly in holy living.

The fourth century witnessed a great change, startling and almost dramatic, but yet neither so astonishing nor so great as might seem at first sight. It was, at least to those who can look back upon it and what preceded it, inevitable. Persecution is a clumsy method, and it had failed to crush Christianity, which, it was also clear, was proof against all the social, moral and intellectual attacks the old world could bring against it, and possessed too of an assimilative force which drew to it steadily, if slowly, the best minds and hearts. The change was inevitable, and yet it was by no means so great or complete as it looked. A great many among the millions of the Empire were not keenly interested in the question of cult, where conduct was free from interference, and a conventional and occasional settlement of accounts might be made as conveniently with the God of the Christians as with any other, provided He, like the other gods, would leave his worshipper free in the intervals. When all is said, the religions of the ancient world were largely, were chiefly, external—sacrifices, lustrations, purifications and other magical rites, and to change from them to a magical Christianity meant not very much after all. The change to spiritual Christianity was a very different matter, but that was not always consequent upon the other. Beside these nominal Christians, there were many more honest heathen who went their quiet way, bowing to the storm and content if allowed to walk in the old paths without let or hindrance.

If the world was more Christian, the Church was certainly more heathen. It had lost many of its best spirits in the persecution of Diocletian, and the new recruits by no means made good the loss. The laity were more pagan, and the clergy and

bishops were pagan too in heart, more worldly and less spiritual. While the Church, particularly in the East, was busying itself about the definition of its fundamental truth, less attention was paid to the common virtues, and the bishops rivalled the eunuchs and the freedmen of the palace in love of power and wealth and in the questionable means they took to secure them. The episcopal office suffered for not being the post of peril. The protest of the laity was monachism. While their guides in things spiritual fought for pomp and place, they looked after their own spiritual interests, and found, as we read in Sulpicius Severus, that in general they had most to fear (after the Devil and his more invisible legions) from the bishops. Ammianus, the fairest of historians, had hard things to say of the great bishops, yet his charges are more than confirmed by the devout Churchman. One Athanasius, one Ambrose, and one Augustine mark the century, while there were many of the type of Damasus, Ursacius and George.

Beside the desire to satisfy spiritual cravings, there was perhaps another inducement to embrace the monastic life in that *praesentium fastidium* we find in Sulpicius. The Roman power in the West was nearing its end. Taxation, war, rebellion, extravagance and slavery had exhausted the Empire, and men turned from the City of Destruction to realize the City of God in the desert and the cell. In such times of stress the common expressions of the religious instinct are felt to fail and men crave for closer access to the divine.

St. Martin, (c. 336—c. 400) was a Pannonian who entered the army at the early age of fifteen, was baptized at eighteen, and at twenty got his discharge from Julian, then Cæsar, and betook himself to the monastic life. He was not an educated man, and, as we may see, he was terribly credulous and superstitious, but he was a great force in Gaul, his adopted country. His kindness, his dignity, enhanced rather than lessened by his mean garb and humble ways, his shrewdness, his language, his seriousness, and the awful gravity and the quiet joy* he drew from communion with Christ in a life of prayer and imitation, gave him an influ-

**Nemo unquam illum vidit . . . maerentem, nemo ridentem ; unus idemque fuit semper caelestem quodammodo laetitiam vultu praeferens.* (*Vita Mart.*, 27). We read very much the same account of Marcus Aurelius:—*Erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis ut vultum nunquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae.* (*Hist August M. Antonin.* 16.) The last word suggests a good deal.

ence and a charm which drew to him the suffering and the sinful, and a power that on more than one occasion proved more imperial than an Emperor's. He became bishop of Tours, though against his will, for it had not been his purpose to be ordained.* But Hilary of Poitiers, to whom he at first attached himself, failing to make him a deacon, made him an exorcist, and later on he was captured by a stratagem and consecrated whether he would or no. The bishops were unwilling to do it, but the laity would not be denied and an accidental *sors Biblica* clinched the matter. The most strenuous of the bishops was one Defensor, and a mistake was made in the lesson whereby the words were read, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, that thou mayest destroy the enemy *et defensorem*." There was a dash of the democratic in Martin, as M. Boissier says, and he ended, as he began, the poor man's bishop.

Such a man was magnetic, and amongst others he drew to him Sulpicius Severus, the subject of this essay. We do not know much of Sulpicius' life, probably because there is little to know. Gennadius, who includes him in his list of ninety-nine famous men which he made to supplement St. Jerome's, only gives us one fact which we could not gather from his own writings and the thirteen letters addressed to him by Paulinus of Nola, and to that fact I shall have to return.

Sulpicius was born in Aquitaine about the year 363, (according to Reinkens), probably of good family, for he had at Bordeaux the best education his times could give, he became a pleader and he made a great marriage.† His wife was of a wealthy family which could boast a consul. Of her we know nothing, unless from his grief at her early death and his lifelong affection for her mother Bassula, evidently a woman of fine character and kindly nature, we may conjecture, "like mother, like daughter." His wife's death, while he was still a young man with a father living, altered the current of his life. He had given signs of rising in

*For an interesting account of this reluctance to be ordained, still a formality in the Coptic Church, see Stanley, *Eastern Church*, Lect. vii.

†See Paulinus *Ep.* v. 5 (to Severus) *in ipso adhuc mundi theatro, id est, fori celebritate diversans, et facundi nominis palmam tenens... divitiæ de matrimonio familie consularis aggestæ... post conjugium peccandi libertas et caelebs juvenas.* So *ib* 6, 7, references to eloquence. All of which may illuminate his comparison of his friend to the Queen of Sheba.

his profession, but "from his Tullian letters," to borrow a phrase of Paulinus,* he turned to "the preachings of the fishermen," and "the silence of piety." In less extraordinary language, he turned to St. Martin for advice, and the Saint advised him to quit the world.† This he did, as Paulinus also had done, cheerfully, gladly, and without regret. He settled down (about 393) to the life of a monk on some land of his at Toulouse, selling all else.‡ We need not expect much incident in such a life, but one or two little details appear. As M. Boissier remarks, "dans le dévot et le moine le littérateur survivait." The man of letters had necessities the illiterate among the monks knew not, and we read of amanuenses, whom he owed to the kindness of his mother-in-law,§ and who, he playfully insinuates, as if in private duty bound supplied her with advance copies of whatever he wrote. His phrase implies these men were slaves, and, in the *Dialogue*,¶ Gallus who has been "teased" (*fatigare*) by him on "Gallic edacity" retorts with some good-humoured banter about "somebody" whose ungrateful freedman ran off without however making his master very angry, and Sulpicius replies that but for so and so "I should be very angry." It is an interesting sidelight on monastic life, but no one who has read his delightful works will grudge Sulpicius his amanuenses.||

He was the literary exponent of the movement of which St. Martin was the prophet, and he shared in the ill will that attended his master. More than once we hear of episcopal dislike and perhaps a little mild persecution. At the beginning of the *Dialogue*, Postumian asks after some years of absence whether the bishops are still the men they were when he went

* *Ep.* v. 6. *Piscatorum praelectiones Tullianis omnibus [e] tuis litteris praetulisti. Confugisti ad pietatis silentium, ut evaderes iniquitatis tumultum.*

† Was it a case of sudden conversion? Paulinus *Ep.* v. 5, says *repentino impetu discussisti servile peccati jugum*, and if this is what he means, it fits in with much else we know of Severus, but Paulinus loves to shroud his meaning (when he has a meaning) in words—(*juvat indulgere sermoni*, he says).

‡ Paulinus *Ep.* xxiv. 3, *nec in reservatis praedu possessor et perfectus in venditis.*

§ *Ep.* iii. 2. *notarios meos... qui in jus nostrum ex tua potissimum liberalitate venerunt.* Cf Paulinus *Ep.* v. 6 for Bassula's generosity *socrum sanctam omni liberaliorem parente.*

¶ *Dial.* I. 12.

|| From the letters of Paulinus, it is clear Sulpicius had still *pueri* to carry letters etc., e.g. *Ep.* v. 1. *pueris tuis sancta in Domino tibi servitute conexas* xxvii. 3. *famulis conservus.* Paulinus was rapturous about the loan of a cook, an expert in vegetarian cuisine and an adept at the razor, (*Ep.* xxiii), a lad therefore very like Samson.

away.* Sulpicius bids him not ask, for they are no better, and his one friend among them, who was his one relief from their vexatiousness, is rougher than he should be. We get another glimpse at this unpopularity of Sulpicius in one of Paulinus' letters, where the writer presses Sulpicius to come and visit him, for one reason urging that by being absent for a while he will still the voice of jealousy.†

The same letters cast some little light on Sulpicius' life. The earlier ones repeatedly invite him to Nola, but he never went. Twice, he writes to Paulinus, he meant to come but was stopped by illness.‡ By and by it is pretty clear he does not intend to visit his friend at all. He jokingly wrote that he was afraid Paulinus' generosity would soon leave him too poor to repeat the invitation§—a jest which plunged Paulinus into a flood of declamation about faith, ending in the happy thought that perhaps after all Sulpicius had been playful rather than faithless. Sulpicius did a good deal of travelling, it would appear, in Gaul,|| but he was content to be represented in Italy by his servants and his annual letters.¶

When engaged on his *Chronicle*, Sulpicius wrote in 403 to Paulinus for aid, particularly on some points of doubtful chronology,** but Paulinus had to confess he was unable to help him. History was seemingly too solid a study for the pupil of Ausonius, but he did the best he could and passed on his friend's letter to Rufinus. In place of information he sends a declamation on the Emperor Theodosius and some hymns he had written to St. Felix.

Over and above the letters, other courtesies passed between them. Sulpicius sends a camel's hair cloth to Paulinus, who acknowledges it in a rambling letter†† about camels and the

*Dial I. 2-3. *an isti omnes quos hic reliqueram sacerdotes tales sint quales eos antequam proficiscerer noveramus?*

†Paulinus *Ep.* v. 13. *xeli fuga qui maxime conspectu aut vicinia aemulae conversationis accenditur.*

‡Paulinus *Ep.* v. 8.

§Paulinus *Ep.* xi. 12

||Paulinus *Ep.* xvii. 4.

¶Paulinus *Ep.* xxiii. 2, xxviii. 1.

**Paulinus *Ep.* xxviii.

††*Ep.* xxix.

analogy of the camel and the needle's eye to salvation by the cross of Christ, and returns a tunic of lamb's wool made by a saintly lady, Melania, and presented to Paulinus by her on her return from a twenty-five years' residence at Jerusalem. He hoped Sulpicius would value it the more for his having worn it a little first. By and by* Sulpicius asks for a portrait of Paulinus, who is very reluctant (or would have it seem so) to send it, but we may surmise it was sent, for a little later we read that in a baptistery Sulpicius has been building he has painted on the walls St. Martin and Paulinus†. His correspondent is obviously highly pleased, but feels it his duty to make a long and rhetorical protest. At Sulpicius' request he sends him a series of verses to inscribe on the walls and something far more precious—*part* of a fragment of the True Cross brought home by St. Sylvia of Aquitaine.‡ The Cross, he explains, permitted these souvenirs to be taken from it without suffering a loss of bulk. Melania appears again as sending a choice selection of ashes and other relics.

Paulinus' letters are insufferably long and trivial, with one or two exceptions. While here and there amid his endless moralizings we find a stray fact of interest, the correspondence has this value that, beside showing the respect men had for Sulpicius' character, it brings out by contrast his brilliance and worth as a man of letters. The two men had had much the same training, had made the same surrender and lived the same life; but there the likeness ends.

Sulpicius lets us see himself. Writing to one Aurelius, a deacon,§ he speaks of himself sitting alone in his little cell, "and the line of thought came to me which so often occupies me, the hope of things to come and disgust for the present, the fear of judgment and the terror of punishment; and what follows these thoughts and is their cause, the recollection of my sins made me sad and weary." His story of Martin's discourse and his obvious approval of it shew his own temper. "His talk was ever, how we should leave the seductions of the world and the burdens of the age to follow the Lord Jesus free and unhampered: he

*Paulinus *Ep.* xxx.

†Paulinus *Ep.* xxxii.

‡Paulinus *Ep.* xxx, 1.

§Sulp. Sev. *Ep.* ii. 1.

would instance the most splendid example of the present day set by the famous Paulinus, who by abandoning great wealth and following Christ had been almost unique in these times in fulfilling the gospel precepts. *He* was the man we should follow! *he* was the man to imitate! he would exclaim; and the present age was happy in possessing such a pattern of faith and virtue, since, as the Lord advised, he, though rich and possessing much, had by selling all and giving to the poor, made possible by his example what was impossible."* We have seen Sulpicius did as much, and most people will prefer him at once as a robust character and a pleasant writer.

For this brings us to his literary work, and throughout it runs the glad note. Sin might sadden him, and bishops worry him, but the dominant character of his work is its joyousness and brightness. A gentle humour plays about it ever and again, and grace and delicacy are its constant marks. For it seems established that the cheerfullest and sunniest of men are those who for a great cause make a great renunciation. So through Sulpicius, as through Prudentius, we find a vein of quiet happiness, whatever their subject, in striking contrast with the unhappiness and violence of so much of the heathen literature of the Empire. In the pages of Montalembert's *Monks of the West* we find very much the same glowing joyousness, for the author, it largely devoid of the critical qualities that make a historian, was in love with his subject and has caught the spirit of the early Gallic monasticism.

Sulpicius' prose style is admirable for its ease and fibre†. The schools had taught him Cicero and Virgil, and he had assimilated more than their roll and cadence. Ausonius, Paulinus and Symmachus had had the same training, had learnt and loved the same authors, and they wrote smoothly and fluently enough, but their work is very bloodless—they say nothing, and they say it with infinite mæandering. Sulpicius is the well-girt writer; his style follows his theme, is earnest, playful or im-

*V. Mart 25. It was polite of Sulpicius to write this of his friend, who returns the compliment by perpetually professing to be a very poor creature by comparison. E.g. Ep. v. 7: Sulpicius blazes *septena Domini candelabra*, while Paulinus is *sub modio peccatorum*. The jumble of scripture is characteristic of Paulinus.

†Jerome (Ep. 125, 6) speaks of the high state of education in Gaul. His correspondent, Rusticus, was, however, sent on to Rome *ut ubertatem Gallici nitorumque sermonis gravitas Romana condiret*.

passioned with his thought, never draggles, never wearies. Here and there slips in a happy phrase from Virgil, with the utmost aptness and naturalness—the snake charmed by the lads of an Egyptian monastery *quasi incantata carminibus cærule colla deposuit* (*Dial.* i. 10, cf *Æneid* ii. 381). Of Martin's preaching we read that he groaned in spirit, *infremuit nec mortale sonans prædicabat* (*Dial.* ii. 4, cf *Æneid* vi. 50). Once more, he bids Postumian on his return to Egypt to find somewhere on the shore the grave of Pomponius *ac licet inani munere solum ipsum flore purpureo et suave redolentibus sparge graminibus* (*Dial.* iii. 18. Cf *Æneid* vi. 885)*. Once he quotes a line of Statius without precisely naming him—*ulimur enim versu scholastico, quia inter scholasticos fabulamur*†—much as a modern might in conversation quote a line of Shakespeare more for playfulness than because of a rigid relevance. Remarkable too, as instancing his care for the purity of his vocabulary, is his apology for the verb *exsufflare*, which he must use though *parum Latinum* to express his thought.‡

The excellence of his style is remarked by most of his critics, M. Boissier finding in him the typical charm of French literature, but the criticism of Gibbon will help us best to the next point for consideration. He alludes to the narration of "facts adapted to the grossest barbarism in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural," he continues, "is the alliance between good taste and good sense that I am always astonished by the contrast."§ Sulpicius has indeed an almost unbounded credulity, beyond even that of many of his contemporaries. It must be recognized, before we judge him, that modern science is, after all, very modern, and that while we are emancipated from much crude superstition to-day, much still remains in odd corners of by no means uncultured minds, and that after all it is possible to pay too high a price for the extinction of superstition. At all events we must judge Sulpicius by the standard of his time, and, not to go back to Tacitus and his phoenix and Vespasian's

*Cf also *V. Mart* 22 and *Æneid* vii. 338.

†*Dial.* ii. 10. Does he mean an "example" from a grammar?

In one of his letters (xxii.) Paulinus rallies him about Virgil, citing a letter of his ending with a Virgilian quotation (*Aen.* iii.) and giving at length another, a very racy one about a cook for the monastery, where he uses the Plautine *lar* for "home."

‡*Dial.* iii. 8.

§*Decline and Fall*, iii. p. 376n.

miracle, so sane a man as Ammianus has a wistful regret for portents "which occur still but are not noted," while a century or so later Zosimus, the bitter critic of Christianity, can seriously attribute the decay and decrepitude of the Empire to the neglect of Constantine to hold the secular games. These men were heathens.

There are not wanting signs that men of his day found some of Sulpicius' stories hard to believe. We have one notice of a man who told St. Martin himself that "what with empty superstitions and ridiculous delusions he had come to dotage and madness," but as a brace of devils were seen chuckling and ejaculating "Go it! Briccio!" to encourage him, we may discount this critic's views.* More important is another passage in the third book of the *Dialogue*,† where Sulpicius interrupts his narrative with a little piece of apologia, which, if it somewhat mars the art and verisimilitude of the piece, illuminates the character of the author. A good many (*plurimi*) are said to shake their heads (*nutare*) about what has been said in the second book. "Let them accept the evidence of men still living and believe them, seeing they doubt my good faith. But if they are so very sceptical, I protest they will not even believe them. Yet I am astonished that anyone who has even a faint idea of religion would be willing to commit such a sin as to think any one could lie about Martin. Far be such a suspicion from any who lives under God; for Martin does not need the support of falsehood. But the truth of the whole story, Oh Christ! I pledge with thee, that I have not said nor will say anything but what I have either seen myself or learnt on good authority, generally from Martin himself. But even if I have adopted the form of a dialogue, that variety in my story may prevent monotony, I profess I am religiously making truth the foundation of my history. I have been obliged at the cost of some pain to make this insertion on account of the incredulity of some people Believe me, I am quite unstrung and beside myself for pain —will not Christians believe in those powers of Martin which devils acknowledged?" This inset makes the conclusion of the piece remind us a little of Virgil's wounded snake in its rather unsuccessful attempt to proceed as if nothing had happened,

**Dial* iii. 15.

†*Dial* iii. 5.

but it has its value. With other passages it establishes Sulpicius' honesty. It is therefore worth while to consider how it is he can believe so much that is incredible to us.

I have said, we must allow for his living in a very unscientific age, an age, too, when the refined scepticism of Roman society in Cicero's day and the blatant atheism of Lucian and his kind had been made well-nigh impossible by that reaction toward faith, which is seen in Neo-Platonism, in the rapid spread of Christianity and the general revival of religion which began in the second century and was so pronounced in the third. Men were ready to believe much, and where this is the case, there is actually less tax upon credulity. For there is a certain amount of evidence that some diseases, mainly of the mental or hysterical order, may be cured by the exercise of faith in the sufferer. Nothing helps a patient very much who firmly believes he is going to die, whose mind is made up to it, and the converse is true too. Let the sick man conceive the belief that the practitioner or the saint can cure him and is doing it, and in some cases this belief will cure him. But for this Notre Dame de Lourdes and Ste. Anne de Beaupré in Quebec might earn less gratitude. Now Martin was an ignorant man, if a man who had great power with men in virtue of his character and personality, and he believed he could heal disease by prayer and faith, and that this faculty was but the fulfilment of Christ's promises. Sulpicius says, and it is not improbable he is presenting Martin's view, as well as his own, that to doubt these miracles of healing, etc., is to diminish the credibility of the gospel, "for when the Lord himself testified that such works as Martin did were to be done by all the faithful, he who does not believe Martin did them, does not believe Christ said so."* Perhaps the logic is not above suspicion, but it is clear that it was held Martin's miracles were proven no less by the words of the gospel than by ocular evidence. Thus Martin believed he could work miracles, and no doubt he did effect cures, and he had a strange influence over men and animals, which to-day might be called hypnotism, or some such fine name, and was then called miracle. If Martin's evidence was not enough, there was the witness of the people healed. While we may admit they were

**Dial.* i. 26.

the better for his treatment, we have no kind of guarantee that their diagnosis of their own maladies was at all more likely to be sound than the pronouncements of ignorant people on their complaints to-day. To an untrained observer, however, the evidence of the worker of the miracle and the subject of it, supported by the inherent probability of its happening in view of what the gospel said and the reflexion that it might very well happen in any case, would be overwhelming. We may then pronounce some of the miracles to be actual instances of cures effected, and some to be cures of imaginary diseases, some the results of mere coincidence, some the ordinary everyday order of events, and all greatly coloured by ignorance and childlike faith.

Visions* are more easily explained as they depend on the evidence of an individual and neither require nor obtain corroboration. Ignorance again will explain some, and overstrung nerves others, while emotion and a touch of poetry or a tendency to imagery will help in nearly every case. In many of Martin's visions fine spiritual insight is implied. For example, on one occasion the devil appeared to Martin at prayer, attired in purple with diadem of gold and gems, and boots wrought with gold, with serene countenance and glad mien, and proclaimed himself to be Christ descended from heaven and rewarding Martin with the first sight of himself. The Saint was silent. "Martin, why hesitate to believe when you see? I am Christ." "No," said Martin, "the Lord Jesus did not say he would come with purple or diadem. I will not believe Christ has come, unless it be in the garb and form under which he suffered, unless he bear upon him the marks of the cross (*stigmata crucis*)."

Whereupon the devil vanished. Here it should be remembered that the millennium and the second advent were much in the thoughts of Martin and his school. To this, however, we must recur.

It may be regretted that Sulpicius on turning to the religious life should have taken as his guide so rude and untrained a thinker as Martin, rather than some more cultured man like Augustine. But we must realize that it is by no means unusual for men of refinement and education to be fascinated by the unpolished directness and rough vigour of a leader, a prophet, from among the people. Apart from this however, there is little doubt that

**Vita Martini* 24.

Martin with all his limitations was the best and most spiritual, the most practically and consistently holy, of the Christian leaders of Gaul; and manliness and godliness are perhaps after all not outweighed by ignorance of physical science.

If Sulpicius is not to be followed in his opinions on medicine and nature, in his judgments of men he is sterling and sound. He saw the great man under the uncouthness of Martin, and he realized terribly how lacking were others among the bishops of Gaul. Like his master, he is fair-minded and fearless. Let us take three examples. Into the great controversy about Origen and his orthodoxy, we need not go. It was in the East one of the burning questions of the day, utilized for political ends by the unscrupulous Theophilus, a successor to Athanasius in the see of Alexandria. It crops up in Postumian's account of his Eastern travels in the *Dialogue*, and whether we say Sulpicius is putting his own views into Postumian's mouth or publishing Postumian's idea in his own work, the conclusion, which is reached after independent study of the books in question, is that, whatever the authorities may say, while there is some doubtful teaching in them, there is undoubtedly much that is good and useful.

Again, when he reviews the life and character of Maximus the British usurper who slew Gratian, and after some five years of Empire (383-388) was overthrown by Theodosius, Sulpicius is remarkably careful to give him credit for good qualities which men were not concerned to discover in a fallen rebel. He was "a man whose whole life deserved honour, had it been possible for him to refuse the diadem set upon his head by the soldiers in mutiny, or to abstain from civil war; but Imperial power (*magnum imperium*) cannot be refused without danger nor upheld without arms."* This is a most just criticism and in it is the explanation of much of the history of the third and fourth centuries. Many a man had in self-defence to embark on civil war. It was a necessity of military despotism.

Elsewhere† he says, that while Maximus "had done many fine acts he was not enough on his guard against avarice, except

**Dial* ii. 6. This judgment curiously coincides with that of Orosius vii, 34. 9. *Maximus vir quidem strenuus et probus et Augusto dignus nisi contra sacramentum per tyrannidem emersisset.*

†*Dial* iii. 11.

that the necessities of monarchy, in the exhaustion of the treasury by former rulers and his own immediate expectation of civil war ever impending, afford an easy excuse for his providing support for his power in any and every way."

Maximus had a great regard for Martin, and his queen was really extravagant in her admiration of him. This was seen in the strange affair of Priscillian, where once more the fairness and reasonableness of Sulpicius appear. Priscillian was the founder of a small sect, of a Gnostic type men said. Two bishops had joined him and had consecrated him. But the bishops of Spain and Gaul set themselves to bring about the extinction of the sect by persecution and the sword. The case came to Maximus and the bishops cried for the surety of blood. Here Martin intervened—it was enough, he said, and more than enough that they had been pronounced heretics by the bishops and driven from the churches: it was a cruel and unheard of sin that a secular judge should hear an ecclesiastical case.* He won a promise from Maximus that no blood should be shed, "but afterwards the Emperor was depraved by the bishops and turned away from milder councils," and Priscillian and others were put to death. That some of these people, the earliest examples of Christians slain by Christians for opinion's sake, were women, a professor's widow and daughter from Bordeaux, excited great indignation. It would seem that Maximus, like another usurper in France, was bidding for the support of the Church.†

The bishops were successful and now thought of going further and having a commission sent to Spain to arrest and try heretics. The assize would have been a bloody one, for their leader Ithacius was a man, says Sulpicius, with no moderation and nothing of the saint about him, extravagant, talkative and gluttonous. "He had reached such a pitch of folly as to be ready to include under the charge of Priscillianism all holy men, who had either a love of reading or a habit of fasting." The *studium lectionis* as a mark of heresy might seem a phrase of Erasmus. Elsewhere he says, it was clear that scant distinctions would be made, as the eye was a good enough judge

* *Chron.* ii. 50.

† Richter writing in 1865 drew an elaborate parallel between Maximus and the eldest son of the Church. (See Hodgkin *Italy and her Invaders* i. 443).

in such cases, for a man was proved a heretic rather by his pale cheeks and his poor raiment than by his belief.

Martin once more appeared—deeply grieved for the crime committed, anxious for the crime preparing. He would not at first communicate with the bishops, whom he not unjustly regarded as guilty of Priscillian's murder, but when Maximus made his communion the price of the stoppage of persecution he gave way. But he felt he had lost spiritual power by so doing, as he had previously done by being consecrated bishop, and thereafter he kept studiously away from every gathering of bishops.

Now throughout this strange story it is remarkable how clear and definite is Sulpicius' judgment. He has no sympathy with Priscillian's views, far from it, but he is moved to horror and indignation by the conduct of the bishops. Maximus in some measure he excuses, and he points out that "not only was the heresy not crushed by the killing of Priscillian, but strengthened and spread further. For his followers, who had formerly honoured him as a saint, afterwards began to worship (*colere*) him as a martyr. The bodies of the slain were taken back to Spain, and their burial celebrated with great pomp, and to swear 'by Priscillian' was counted the most binding of oaths. But amongst the orthodox (*nostros*) there blazed a ceaseless war of quarrels, which after fifteen years of dissensions could not yet be ended." All, he says, is confusion as a result of the quarrelling, the lust and the greed of the bishops, and "meanwhile the people of God and every good man are treated with shame and mockery."†

We may now pass to a short review of the works of Sulpicius, which fall into two divisions—his writings on St. Martin and his Chronicle.

The *Chronicle*‡ is an epitome of Scripture history, supplemented by a rapid survey of the ten persecutions of the Church (a numeration for which he is one of the earliest authorities), a

**Dial.* ii. 4.

†*Chron.* ii. 51.

‡This is the only work of Sulpicius precisely dated. He brings his work to a conclusion in Stilicho's consulship, 400 A.D. (ii. 9, *omne enim tempus in Stiliconem direxi*.) Martin's life and the first letter seem to have been written before Martin's death, which was sixteen years after his second visit to Maximus. Maximus reigned from 383–388, but must have left Gaul about 386. Reinkens puts the publication of the *Life* after Martin's death, that of the *Dialogue*, in the year 405, supposing Sulpicius to have died shortly after the year 406.

glance over the Arian controversy and a rather fuller account of the Priscillianist troubles. It is plain that the interest of the work grows greater toward the end, for an epitome will generally lack freshness. But in this case there are one or two things to be said. First of all, the epitome is written in Sulpicius' usual style. It is clear and lucid, and though short and concise does not give too strong an impression of scrappiness. There is something of a classical flavour here and there, and it strikes one as odd to read of Jacob's burial, *funus magnifice curatum*, or of Moses', *de sepulcri loco parum compertum*. The phrases somehow do not suggest the Pentateuch. He has a keen eye for chronology, on which he is at issue with Archbishop Ussher to the extent of some sixteen centuries.* After repeated difficulties with one figure after another in his authorities he concludes: "I am sure that it is more likely that the truth has been lost by the carelessness of copyists, especially when so many centuries have intervened, than that the prophet should have erred. Just as in the case of my own little book I expect it will befall that, by the carelessness of those who transcribe it, things will be spoiled about which I have not been careless." He keeps his story wonderfully clear of typology, only once, I think, going so far as to remark a type, Deborah, it seems, being a prefigurement of the Church. Where necessary, he reinforces his story with material from secular historians, though he is careful to explain he regards their standing as very different. In this way he has preserved for us a passage of Tacitus, otherwise lost, on the destruction of the temple by Titus. He makes some shrewd remarks on the effect on Christianity of the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and the resultant removal of the servitude of the Law from the freedom of the faith and of the Church.

It is remarkable how abruptly he passes from Isaiah,† merely mentioning his name, while he recommends the careful study of Ezekiel, whose prophecy is "magnificent, for the mystery of things to come and of the resurrection was revealed to him."‡ But when he comes to Daniel he devotes to him a number

*Chron. i. 40.

†St. Augustine confesses that he too, at least before his baptism, found Isaiah too hard, *Conf. ix. 5, 13. Verum tamen ego primam hujus lectionem non intelligens, totumque talem arbitrans, distuli repetendum exercitior in dominico eloquio.*

‡Chron. ii. 3.

of chapters and gives an interesting interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. In the feet of iron and clay was foretold the Roman Empire which is to be divided (*dividendum*) so as never to cohere again. "This has even so come to pass, for the Roman world is not administered by one Emperor, but by several who are always quarrelling by war or faction. Finally the mixture of clay and iron, whose substances can never cohere, signifies the destined incompatible intermixtures of mankind, for the Roman territory is held by foreign tribes or rebels, or is handed over to them when they surrender and make what passes for peace, and we see in our armies, our cities and provinces admixtures of barbarous nations, chiefly Jews, who dwell among us but do not however adopt our ways. And the prophets tell us that this is the end." He complains that men will not believe in those parts of the vision which still remain to be fulfilled, in spite of the fulfilment of it all so far. I have spoken before of the millenarism of the school of Martin and this is one more instance of it.

The *Chronicle* had a curious fate, for after the invention of printing it was used as a manual of history in schools for a century and a half, and at one time incurred the ignorant suspicions of the authorities of the Index.

His other writings deal mainly with St. Martin. His *Life of Martin* is a model of biography though it has too many marvels for the taste of to-day.* He supplemented it with three letters on his great leader, and from these we learn that it was written before Martin's death, which comes upon as a surprise; for one would never judge from its style that its subject was living. It may indeed have been revised, but this is mere conjecture.

In the *Dialogue* he continues the same subject, though he prefixes to it an account of the monks of Upper Egypt. The interlocutors are three—himself, Gallus, a Gaul from the North, and Postumian, like himself an Aquitanian. Postumian begins with the story of his travels, how he sailed to Carthage and worshipped at St. Cyprian's tomb, how bad weather gave him a glimpse of a curious little Christian community of shepherds in

*Even Paulinus deviates into relevance, (*Ep.* xi. 11) to say of this *Life*: *historiam tam digno sermone quam justo affectu percensuisti. Beatus et ille pro meritis qui dignum fide et vita sua meruit historicum.* The *Life* was done into hexameters in the 5th century by Paulinus of Perigueux, and in the 7th by Venantius Fortunatus. Probably the original prose will be preferred by most readers.

the desert, how he went to Alexandria when the famous quarrel about the Tall Brothers was at its height, and thence how he went to Bethlehem and stayed with St. Jerome, and to the deserts of the Thebaid and saw all manner of holy men. Some of his tales are a little saddening. When obedience is carried to such a pitch that one foolish man at the bidding of another will spend two years in carrying water a mile to water a walking-stick, one feels there is some fundamental error in the system. The holy man, who lived alone on Mt. Sinai for years and years, and by God's blessing did not know he was naked, who ran from his fellow-men, and when at last he deigned a word to one explained that angels will not visit him who dwells with other men, might, I am afraid, to-day be counted as merely insane. The pleasanter tales tell of wild beasts tamed and making friends with solitary hermits, though one fears that the tale of the grateful lioness who sought a holy man's aid to give sight to her blind cubs, and presented him a day or two later with the skin of some rare animal, may seem to fall short of probability.

When Postumian's travels are told, Gallus tells of St. Martin and manages to eclipse point by point the marvels of the desert with the miracles of Gaul. It has been remarked that these stories are put by Sulpicius into the mouth of his Celtic friend as if with the intention of suggesting that they are not to be taken quite literally, but his digression in the third book (to which I have alluded) seems to make this view impossible.

One of the most interesting things in the *Dialogue* is the naive account of the wonderful success of the *Life of Martin*.* It was Postumian's "companion by land and sea, his fellow and comforter in all his pilgrimage," and he found it before him wherever he went. Paulinus had introduced it to Rome, where it sold like wild fire to the vast delight of the booksellers. It was already the talk of Carthage when Postumian got there. At Alexandria nearly everybody knew it better than Sulpicius himself. It was spread all over Egypt, and Postumian brought a request from the desert for a sequel. Sulpicius hopes that the *Dialogue* may do as well as the *Life*.†

**Dial.* i. 23. Paulinus in one of his letters (xxix. 14) tells how he read the *Life* to the very saintly lady Melania and others. The lady was much interested in lives of holy men—a prevalent if poor taste in literature.

†*Dial.* iii. 17.

Several general features remain to be remarked in the works of Sulpicius. To his belief in miracles and visions I have already referred. With this, I think, we should associate his millenarian views. They too seem to be due to St. Martin. It is a curious thing how often a belief in the speedy return of Christ goes with a revival of the religious life, a Nemesis one might perhaps say of literalism, almost of materialism, shadowing the development of the spiritual.

His earliest reference to the subject is in the *Life of Martin*. A false prophet, Anatolius by name, appeared in Gaul,* and another simultaneously in Spain. The latter began by being Elias and then proceeded to be Christ, and actually got a Spanish bishop to admit his claim and worship him as God.† Sulpicius continues, "A good many brethren also told us that at the same time there had risen in the East a person who proclaimed that he was John. From all this we may conjecture, when so many false prophets appear, that the coming of Antichrist is at hand, and that he is already working in them the mystery of iniquity." Other Elijahs have since appeared.

The whole of this line of thought betrays at this early date as ever since the influence of the books of Daniel and Revelation, and in point of fact Martin and Sulpicius were nearer the original than their successors, for they realized that Nero was portended by the latter book. Martin said that Nero would subdue ten kings and become Emperor in the West, Antichrist in the East. Each would start persecution, Nero in the interests of idolatry, Antichrist seemingly of Judaism, for he was to rebuild the Temple,‡ enjoin circumcision and claim worship as Christ. There was to be civil war between them, as so often between West and East, and Nero should fall and Antichrist reign, till the man of sin should be crushed by Christ's coming. Antichrist was in fact already born, had reached boyhood even, at the time of Martin's speaking, eight years before Sulpicius wrote his *Dialogue*, "so take thought how near at hand are the things men dread as still in the future."§

*V. *Mart.* 23.

†V. *Mart.* 24.

‡Is this a far away memory of the Emperor Julian's attempt to rebuild it?

§*Dial* ii. 14.

In the *Chronicle*, Sulpicius says less, perhaps because more was unfitting in *hoc tam præciso opere*. All he says is that Nero was "a very fitting person to inaugurate the persecution of Christians,* and perhaps he will yet be the last to carry it out, for it is believed by many that he will come in person before Antichrist."† But we need not go further into the subject, for the dangers of the interpretation of prophecy are obvious, and there is but little pleasure to be derived from the contemplation of the errors and eccentricities of good men.

I have alluded more than once to the ill will between the monks and the bishops which was not lessened with time, though ever and again a monk was made bishop. Sometimes like St. Martin he would remember his calling, but not always, for Sulpicius has much to say about monks losing their heads on being ordained or consecrated, and conceiving passions for building, for maintaining great establishments and travelling with ease and magnificence with multitudes of horses and servants.‡ Again and again he protests against luxury and display and more serious vices among the bishops and clergy. They have forgotten, if they ever knew, that Levi received no share in the land of Canaan, at least one would suppose so from their eagerness for acquiring property in land.§ Prudentius says much the same, only more ingeniously, for by a little anachronism, involving a century and a half, he puts into the mouth of a dead and gone persecutor the words

*et summa pietas creditur
nudare dulces liberos.||*

But worse than land grabbing was their habit of consorting with spiritual sisters.¶ This was no new story, and perhaps it will never be old. Cyprian long ago had written against the practice, and Jerome fulminated against it still. He was him-

*Cf Tertullian on Nero. *Apology* 5. *Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur*, etc.

†*Chron.* ii. 28.

‡*Dial* i. 21.

§*Chron.* i. 23. *Non solum immemores sed etiam ignari*. Note his conclusion as to the meaning of their rapacity; *quasi venalem praeferunt sanctitatem*.

Steph. 2. 83-4.

¶ Two Councils at least in the 4th century condemned this consorting with syneisaktoi and agapetae. The 3rd Canon of the Council of Nicaea, and the 27th of Elvira both forbid it. "Spiritual brothers" and "sons" are mentioned by Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome. See *Dale Council of Elvira*, p. 200.

self less indiscreet in his intercourse with his women friends, but many of his letters to the nun Eustochium and other ladies survive.* There seems to be a perennial fascination about the clergy for spiritually-minded women, but surely, felt Sulpicius, monks have renounced feminine society and nuns masculine. Scandals occurred oftener than so strait a school cared to see them, and we find it told with pride how Martin but once in his life allowed a woman to minister to him. But "as the grammarians do, we must consider place, time and person,"† and it was the queen of Maximus and her husband was present. One very scrupulous virgin point-blank refused to see Martin himself, for though thaumaturge and bishop it could not be disguised that he was after all a man‡; and Martin praised her for her modesty. Well indeed might Gallus say that if we were all like Martin, we should not so much discuss the *causas de osculo*:—"But after all we are Gauls."§

One mark of the monastic movement was its new relation with nature, a new interest in birds and beasts, a new love for them. Pet birds and dogs the old heathen world had known, but now man and animal met on more equal terms of freedom, and we read already of wolves and lions who were friends of the Egyptian monks. Martin, himself, does not seem to have been intimate with any animal, still we hear of him saving a hare from some hounds, and there is a curious parable from nature recorded, not, it must be said, a very happy one. The seagulls that flew up the Loire and caught the fish were, he said, a type of the powers of evil seeking the human soul. It reminds one of Bunyan's Book for Boys and Girls, and its odd expositions of natural things. On the sacred trees of the heathen Gauls Martin waged relentless war, hewing them down by grace of miracle in spite of protest.

We now come to the last story told of Sulpicius, which, I should say, I find strong reason for doubting. Sulpicius, as we

**Nosti puellares animos his rebus plerumque solidari, si se intelligant curae esse majoribus*, he says (*Ep.* 7, 4)—a very worthy reason for very extraordinary letters to be written to a girl of seventeen or eighteen.

†*Dial* ii. 7.

‡On the other hand when Martin slept in a vestry of the church at Claudiomagus, on his departure there was a rush (*inruerunt*) of virgins into the room, to kiss the spots where he had sat or stood, and to divide up the straw on which he had lain. *Dial* ii. 8.

§*Dial* ii. 8.

have seen, renounced the world and its allurements to become a monk, to live the life best adapted, as men thought then, to the quest of holiness. The thought of sin was often in his mind, his life in fact was a hand to hand battle with sin. Now in the west, among men of his own blood, rose a teacher with a new doctrine of sin—Pelagius. It may seem odd to find a Celt, a British Celt, with a Greek name, but we find quite a number of Greek names among the Gallic and Spanish monks in Sulpicius' pages*—Eucherius, Euanthius, Aetherius and Potamius, and a Briton Pelagius was. Into Pelagianism we need not enter, but certain features should be remarked. Faith is not enough to save a man; it must be reinforced by works, by conduct, by watchfulness; and a man's will power, aided by grace (which is won by his good inclinations), and supported by good works, may secure him a pure life, not indeed free from temptation, but from sin. Underlying all this there was to begin with a protest against the worldliness and evil living of professing Christians, though the logical outcome of the system was really to underestimate sin. But for the time it was urged that a low standard was not inevitable; the highest was attainable, if proper means were taken. The proper means meant the monastic life generally.

This view of the possibilities of Christian living was a monk's, a Celtic monk's, and from what we have seen of Sulpicius, it will not be altogether surprising to read in Gennadius that he adopted Pelagius' position.† Millenarism and an over-hasty idea of achieving sinlessness not uncommonly go together and it may be that Sulpicius became a Pelagian. Gennadius wrote a refutation of the heresy, which is lost, and he might be supposed to know who were its leading adherents. He adds, however, that Sulpicius ultimately realized he had made a mistake and renounced his error, and in his repentance abjured speech for ever, "to expiate by silence the sin he had contracted by speech." Whether we believe all this to be true or not‡ de-

*The Celt carried his fancy for a little Greek so far, that in Irish MSS. we are apt to find stray Latin words written in *Greek* character. The Greek names may, perhaps, be illustrated by the habit the native converts in India have of giving their children English names.

†Gennadius *Vir. Ill.* 19.

‡More and more I incline to think that this story—*silentium usque ad mortem tenuit*—is, after all, a mere misunderstanding of Paulinus' phrases *confugisti ad*

pende on whether we accept Gennadius' story, but it must be admitted it is not inherently impossible. It would be sad to think of this most genial and gentle of men ending his days in the agony of remorse and silence, but even if he did, it does not lessen the value of his delightful works. Probably, however, the story is a mistake, the invention of stupidity.

Reviewing the life of Sulpicius, it may seem to us strange that a man of good family and culture should so surrender himself to the guidance of a man his inferior in everything society valued, should surrender above all his judgment and accept so much that would appear contrary to reason, to sense and to experience. Yet, after all, it is not a rare phenomenon. Our own day has seen a similar renunciation of everything by a man of letters, a member of the English House of Commons, who at the word of one he believed inspired of God, left all to work on a farm and sell strawberries on a train, still retaining a buoyant and joyous cheerfulness. He parted, it is true, from his prophet at last, but through life his steps were led by devotion to the highest and truest, in a word, by the vision of the unseen. Whatever we may make of his teaching, we cannot but respect the spirit of Lawrence Oliphant.

It may, however, be said, and perhaps not unjustly, that while Sulpicius' problem is the constant problem of mankind, his solution is not satisfactory. Time has shewn that monasticism does not allow enough for one instinct at least of our nature, which cannot be satisfied except in the family. It was a criticism of our composition, which it found faulty and tried to alter. Such attempts seem foredoomed to failure. But if the monastic solution of the problem of holy living will not satisfy mankind in the long run, it must not be forgotten that a debt of gratitude is due to the men who had the nobility of character to venture all on the experiment. That it failed proves their judgment was unsound, but it does not affect the fact that they thought such an experiment worth while.

T. R. GLOVER.

pietatis silentium. . . mutescere voluisti mortalibus ut ore puro divina loquereris: et polutam canina facundia linguam Christi laudibus et commemoratione ipsa pii nominis expires (Ep. v. 6.) Gennadius mentions (c. 49) that Paulinus wrote *ad Severum plures epistulas*, nor is this his only allusion, and he obviously depends for all his other statements on these letters and on Sulpicius himself. List-making is a poor trade, and such a blunder is not very improbable. Paulinus Petricordius (of Perigueux) a contemporary of Gennadius (469-490) who did Severus' *Martin* into an epic of six books, speaks of him with admiration, but no hint of this story. See Book V. (1052 C. Migne). Reinkens, without discussing the origin of Gennadius' story, dismisses it as untrue.

THE PULPIT IN SCOTLAND AS IT IS, AND AS IT WAS FORTY OR FIFTY YEARS AGO.

SOME time before his death Mr. Spurgeon made sweeping representations or misrepresentations regarding the Non-conformist Churches in England. According to him, they were on what he called "the down grade." They had opened their gates to the historical criticism of the Scriptures, with the result that young ministers did not preach as he preached. Their sermons dealt less with "the plan of salvation," and more with the actual facts of life; and this, he alleged, implied unbelief on their part in the atonement and a Socinian view of the person of Christ. From time to time a similar cry has been raised in Scotland; and therefore while there last autumn I made observations and inquiries, with the object of ascertaining what, if any, foundation exists for the alarm which some excellent people undoubtedly feel. I had spent seven years in Scotland—from 1853 to 1860—and had heard during that time such men as Caird, Norman McLeod, Guthrie, Bonar, Candlish and John Ker. There are no such preachers now. Those were men of altogether exceptional pulpit and spiritual power. They were the real leaders of the Scottish people. Whether we are to seek the explanation in the fact that, for a generation or two previous, there were few avenues so open to young men as the Church, and consequently much of the best brains of the country studied for the ministry, whereas since that time commerce and industry have been offering more and more splendid prizes, while the Home and India Civil services have been thrown open to competition, and in other directions inviting avenues are tempting young men of ability to enter on promising careers; or whether Scotland shared in that religious revival which culminated in England in the High Church and Broad Church movements, the sequence of the Low Church quickening under Charles Simeon, and so gave birth to a race of spiritual giants, whose form was too often determined by the "ten years' conflict," or by theological controversies, which seem to us now as barren as that once celebrated conflict itself; or some better explanation can be given, the fact is undoubted that not only had Scotland the galaxy of preachers mentioned above, but that others even greater had just passed

or were passing away,—Irving, John McLeod Campbell and Young expelled from the Churches, McCheyne, Morrison, and the greatest of all, Chalmers. If we were to judge the pulpit by half a dozen or a dozen specimens, it must be confessed that the present is not equal to the past. But, if we are to judge by the average pulpit, then—so far as my experience goes—the present is far in advance of the past. The change in the general tone and freshness of the pulpit amounts to a revolution, and though in revolutions something is apt to be lost, there has, in this case, been gain all along the line. For the gain has been not merely in the preaching, but in every part of the service, and in the architecture, the decent surroundings, and even the cleanliness and comfort of the buildings. Instead of the usually awkward-looking precentor, with his pitch-pipe ostentatiously used, there is the choir, often sustained by an organ. The Scriptures are read with intelligence. And the prayers, though there is still the total silence on the part of the people, which is so appalling to those unaccustomed to it, are not so long, nor so rambling, nor so explanatory nor so doctrinal as they used to be. But, to my mind, the greatest gain has been in the sermon; and in order to prove this, as far as it can be proved by one man, I shall summarize my experiences in the sixth decade of the century and compare them with my more recent observations and inquiries. I may add that my knowledge of Scotland and its pulpit in the former period was not inconsiderable; for I had spent a good part of each summer wandering over almost every section of the land, with a lover's passionate enthusiasm for its history and scenery, and with eyes and ears wide open. The average sermon at that time was verbose, formal and official, and when it was otherwise, the spirit was sectarian and the range of thought limited. The most earnest preaching was generally to be heard in the Free Church, but too often it had features which repelled young men. In an introductory lecture delivered by the late Prof. W. G. Blaikie to his class of Pastoral Theology in New College, Edinburgh, 1889, its defects were thus fairly and frankly set forth: "You may say, perhaps, the disruption pulpit was full of faults. It was a monotonous pulpit, always harping on the same string. It was a narrow pulpit, always insisting on its own one aspect of truth. It was an unscientific pulpit, not interpreting Scrip-

ture by approved canons, but just according to the fancy of the interpreter. It was a fantastic pulpit, allegorizing or spiritualizing many things, as if the Old Testament were an assortment of puzzles, and the great thing were to find out its mystical meaning. You may say it was a pulpit deficient in ethical teaching, deeming it enough to have taught doctrines and principles, and comparatively careless about their application to daily duty. Perhaps some may say it was not without a certain tendency to that fanaticism which separates religion from life, which encourages men to think of religion as a department by itself, and of business and social enjoyment as belonging to another sphere. And you may say, perhaps, that it was a cheerless pulpit; it frowned on certain pleasures which are not only innocent, but necessary as relaxations from the strain and pressure of busy life." As against this terribly black list of its apparently admitted faults, he pleads that "it had this grand merit, that Jesus Christ crucified for sin was conspicuously its centre and its foundation, its crown and its glory." But, we may well ask, how a pulpit which is "monotonous," "narrow," "unscientific," "fantastic," "deficient in ethical teaching," "with a tendency to the fanaticism which separates religion from life," and "cheerless," could by any possibility preach Jesus Christ faithfully? The good Doctor pleaded that "if the disruption pulpit had these faults, the natural problem for the present age is to mend them." For, he says, "they are not essential faults; they are separable faults; let them therefore be lopped away." The gun which was supplied with new lock, stock and barrel was mended, the old parts being separated or lopped away; but how much of the old gun was left?

The complaint I had with the Scottish pulpit forty or fifty years ago was radical. It identified religion with soundness of creed, its creed was narrow, and it dreaded departures from "the form of sound words" as certain to lead the vagrant into destructive heresy. It was therefore timid and dull, though the timidity and dulness were often hidden behind loud oratory and vehement gesticulation. "When the Professor gives you your text, how do you proceed to write a sermon on it," once asked a fellow-Divinity student, a junior who wished me give him some hints. I explained my method; a study of the book as a whole, then a

study of the passage and of the verse, then a grip of the main truth expressed, then reflection as freely and fully on that as possible, and then attempts to write, as I did not expect my first copy to satisfy me.—“But, man,” he ejaculated, almost horrified at such freedom on my part, “are you not afraid of writing some heresy or other?” Of course, men of genius were not under this bondage, but the average man is not strong. Men of spiritual natures, who had passed through conflict to peace, who had sounded the depths of sin in themselves and had found grace to be deeper far, men like Paul, Augustine and Luther, never wearied of preaching the cross, and the people never wearied of hearing them. But all the Apostles were not Pauls. All the Fathers were not Augustines. All Lutherans were not Luthers. And so the average man, not daring to be true to himself and to the Spirit of God which would have fitted him for his own honest work, sank down to be a mere imitator, a cuckoo instead of an independent witness to the truth. “No man,” says Dr. Blaikie, “went into a disruption church without being sure to hear of Jesus Christ and Him crucified.” That, he considered to be its glory; and yet in a subsequent part of his lecture he says that the following frame of a model discourse prescribed by a “moderate minister of last century” was, “scoffing;”—1st, Show what is the natural state of man; 2nd, Explain the scheme of redemption through Jesus Christ; and 3rd, Conclude with a practical application.” But, what other model could a youth take if he was expected to preach “Jesus Christ and Him crucified” in every sermon, on penalty of being considered unsound? In the very Epistle from which this expression is taken, Paul did not confine himself to the atonement, but treated a great variety of subjects with the utmost freedom, though always from the standpoint of Christian principle.

Mrs. Oliphant, in her “Life of Edward Irving,” tells us how his generous impetuosity and fearless love of truth, qualities which should always be found in young men, led him to characterize the ordinary orthodoxy to which he had been accustomed. “While himself the sincerest son of his mother church, and loving her very standards with a love which never died out of him, he was always intolerant of the common stock of dry theology, and the certified *soundness* of dull men. ‘You are

content to go back and forward on the same route, like this ferry boat,' he is reported to have said as his party were crossing the Gairloch; 'but as for me, I hope yet to go deep into the ocean of truth.' His fate may not be considered inspiring. But, who would not be Edward Irving, rather than any member of the presbytery which deposed him? And though some suffer shipwreck, no one shrinks now from crossing the Atlantic, or from exploring its depths.

A change has passed over the Scottish pulpit, which I found a change for the better and indicative of new and more promising points of view than the old. The present-day preaching is essentially Biblical, and the Bible is understood to be not so much a book as the purified essence of an extensive literature. It is no longer regarded as a catechism or even in Dr. Chalmer's words as "our great statute-book," but rather as the poetry and prophesyings of inspired men to whom were given revelations of the deep things of God and man, and whose words still find echoes in all true hearts. The Rabbis considered "the Law" to be the essence of revelation, and the prophets to be merely commentators on the law; but the Christian, to whom Jesus is the great prophet, utterly rejects such a view of the relative importance of the two great collections of O. T. sacred books.

The present-day preaching is historical, because biblical. Redemption, it understands, took the form of a long continued historical movement and therefore to interpret the different books or epochs aright, the principle of development is frankly accepted. Truths are seen in their proper perspective, instead of being on the same plane, as in a Chinese picture; and Bible characters are understood, because seen in the light of their own times, and their words are not fitted to the procrustean bed of any system of theology. The historical spirit is the gift of God to our century and—although it imposes earnest study on the preacher—it has worked wonders on the exposition of the Scriptures.

The present-day preaching is practical rather than doctrinal. Doctrine is of course implied, but it is presented to the people in its relation to life and not as the contents of a museum. This requires something more than the easy going method of making every sermon revolve round the three R's, of Ruin, Redemption and Regeneration. It calls for hard work; much and wide read-

ing, close observation and thinking, and study of the actual social and industrial conditions of our complex civilization. All the sermons I heard both in city and country gave evidence, sometimes very remarkable evidence, of the careful thought which had been bestowed on them; and visitors to Scotland with whom I conversed had had similar experiences. In a recent number of the Free Church Missionary Record, is an editorial notice of Mr. Rider Haggard's impressions. He had spent part of last summer in Scotland and published his opinion of the preaching he heard.

"At one time or another," he says, "I have attended various Scotch churches, and never yet did I hear a bad sermon; indeed, one or two of those addresses struck me as masterly. I doubt whether the haphazard visitor to English village churches would be able to say as much. It is obvious, too, that the general intelligence of the average country church-goers in Scotland must be much higher than that of the corresponding class in England. I am convinced that few members of an agricultural congregation in the eastern counties would follow the closely-reasoned and often recondite arguments of the preacher with so much zest and understanding as do his hearers in the most out-of-the-world parts of Scotland."

Present-day preaching does not divide the congregation into two distinct classes of the converted and the unconverted, but rather treats all as imperfect Christians, who burdened with many sins and short-comings show by their presence in Church that they desire to grow in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord. This is the view which should be taken of them, according to the standards of the Scottish Church. The **Shorter Catechism** teaches that children by their baptism are **grafted into Christ** and therefore that they are members of the **Church** or immature Christians and not young pagans.

Dr. Blaikie, in the lecture from which I have already quoted, gives as fair a description of the modern preacher as he gave of the defects of the old pulpit. "He strives in his sermons to deal with things as they are. He speaks in plain English, avoids theological abstractions and theological formulas, for he believes that these have lost all their brightness and force, and that more harm than good is done by making use of them; he holds that what the preacher has to do is to lay himself alongside of his

people, appeal to whatever is best in them—to their inborn aspirations after God, to their consciousness of infirmity, their inability to realize their own aspirations, their sense of how they are driven and hustled by the cares of business and the forces of the world, and turned away from the paths they fain would follow; to appeal to them not to allow themselves to drift away with these currents, not to sacrifice their lives, not to become thorns and briars in society; but clinging to Jesus Christ as their life and their strength, turn their helm stiffly and firmly in the true direction, and make right for the kingdom of heaven in spite of all. He holds that it is *his* part to furnish them with all manner of inducements and helps to follow this course. And in order to do this he dwells on the importance of fellowship with Christ." Concerning this kind of preaching, Dr. Blaikie says, "The complaint that I hear against it is, that there is not much of Christ in it; or if he be set forth, it is His Person and personal influence that are dwelt on; but there is not much of His atonement, nor of the plan of salvation for lost sinners." What an extraordinary complaint! Read the description again, and see how full of Christ it is. But the Person of Christ and His personal influence are apparently thought to be of less consequence than that part of His work which is seen in His death. Surely a person is always greater than any part of his work or his whole work. Why separate a person from his work? And how can lost man be saved at any time but by being brought into fellowship with God his Saviour? As to "the plan of salvation," the phrase savours of the factory rather than of that living union with Christ and the powers of the world to come, with which I trust every Christian is less or more familiar.

To what or whom has this change—brought about over the whole country—been due? There have been many causes, two of which—one general and the other personal—may be mentioned. The disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, lamentable as it seemed to be and lamentable as it was in some of its results, led to a notable weakening of the ecclesiastical tyranny and heresy-hunting which had been dominant previously, and which had smothered free thought or diverted it into agitation for external reforms having little to do with the higher things of the spirit. The great development of modern industry and com-

merce, consequent on the adoption of Free Trade, which swept Scotland into the currents of the wider life of the world, coincided with the ecclesiastical upheaval; and both influences not only made for healthy freedom on the part of the laity, but created a demand for preaching dealing with the realities of life. The principal personal cause has been the influence of Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the New College, Edinburgh. His real work is not seen in what he writes. He has published comparatively little, for as a Liberal-Conservative in Theology he always sees both sides of the question, and the difficulties of both. He shrinks from dogmatizing until he is quite certain of his conclusions, and in the region of criticism certainty is seldom attainable. But he has gradually formed a school of the sanest and most reverent critics of the Old Testament to be found in any Church, and the influence of these on the general tone of the pulpit is marked and in my opinion steadily increasing. Few men in Scotland now doubt the value of the results which have flowed from the application of the methods of modern criticism to the study of Holy Scripture.

G. M. GRANT.

EARLY VOYAGES ON THE UPPER ST. LAWRENCE.

IT was in 1613 that Champlain first explored a portion of the Ottawa, above Montreal. In 1614 the first priests came to Canada, being sent out at the expense of the commercial company which controlled it. These were four Recollet fathers whose duty it was to minister to the religious needs of the colonists, and establish missions for the conversion of the Indians. In 1615 Father Joseph Caron accompanied a band of Hurons to their homes in the West. A little later in the same summer he was followed by Champlain, who went with the Huron Indians on an expedition against the Iroquois into what is now northern New York State. On returning to Canada, both Champlain and the priest remained with the Indians the following winter. Champlain had reached the Huron country by means of the Ot-

tawa route, and in going to the Iroquois territory he followed the Trent river system down to the bay of Quinte, and from that across to the south side of the lake past Amherst, Wolfe, and the smaller islands. He returned by the same route, making no attempt to try the upper St. Lawrence, reaching Lower Canada by the Ottawa as before.

Immediately after this the Iroquois, taking the aggressive, successfully encroached upon the territory of the Hurons and threatened the extermination of the French, their allies. What with the difficulties of the rapids, and the dangers from the Iroquois who sat by them, the French long found that route closed to them. Thus the St. Lawrence from Lake St. Louis to Lake Ontario remained unknown to the French, except from Indian hearsay, for nearly half a century after they had penetrated to the Georgian bay and Lake Huron. By 1642 the French had reached Lake Superior, and had explored Lake Michigan. In 1646 the first Jesuit missionary, Pere Isaac Jogues, went to the Iroquois settlements to the south of the lakes. He went, however, by way of the Lake Champlain route. The following year, on his return to the Iroquois, he was put to death on the charge, it is said, of having raised the devil among them.

This incident, followed by other acts of aggression on the part of the Iroquois, suspended friendly intercourse between the French and these tribes for some time. But in 1654, on petition of one of the chiefs to have the French make a settlement among them, Father Simon Lemoine went to Onondaga. Being assured safe conduct, he went by way of the St. Lawrence route; the first Frenchman, not a captive, to make that trip.

In explanation of the friendly overtures of the western Iroquois, we find that at this time they were threatened by other Indian nations to the west and south of them. To the south they were in conflict with the Andastogues, who had already driven some of the Cayugas out of their country, and compelled them to take refuge on Lake Ontario, in the neighbourhood of the bay of Quinte. From the west the Cat and Neutral Indians were on the eve of attacking them. The Iroquois, therefore, not only desired to make peace with the French, but to obtain their assistance against their nearer enemies. Under these circumstances Lemoine made his journey. From his journal, given in

the Jesuit Relation for that year, we obtain a short account of his trip up the river.*

"On the 17th day of July, 1654, St. Alexis day, we set out from home with that great saint of many travels, toward a land unknown to us." Thus while the ancestors of most of us were eagerly following the first movements of Cromwell's Protectorate, while that great man was preparing to meet his first Parliament, in the wilds of America a French Jesuit missionary was making the first ascent of the Upper St. Lawrence.

"On the 18th, following constantly the course of the river St. Lawrence, we encountered nothing but breakers and impetuous falls, thickly strewn with rocks and shoals." This refers to the region of the Cascades, Cedars, and Coteau rapids, between Lake St. Louis and Lake St. Francis. "The 19th. The river continues to increase in width and forms a lake, pleasant to the sight and eight or twelve leagues in length." "The 20th. We see nothing but islands of the most beautiful appearance in the world, intercepting here and there the course of this most peaceful river. The land toward the north appears to us excellent. Toward the rising sun is a chain of high mountains, which we named after Saint Margaret." Those who know the western end of lake St. Francis will recognize this as a charmingly simple and accurate description of that portion of the river. As yet, none of the lakes or rapids on the course is given a name. Only the chastely blue mountains, which form so fitting a background for the peaceful beauties of water and island, are named after St. Margaret. But the name is given at too long a range. Even that of 'St. Mary,' bestowed later, will not endure. Those nearer to them, doubtless finding them less ethereal and saintly, will name them later the Adirondacs. On the 22nd they encountered the Long Sault rapids, though yet unnamed, and these he says "compel us to shoulder our little baggage, and the canoe that bore us." "On the other side of the rapids, I caught sight of a herd of wild cows, pasturing in a very calm and leisurely manner. Sometimes there are seen four or five hundred of them together in these regions." These were evidently not buffaloes, but caribou deer, because, as described later, they would not answer to the

*The quotations from the Jesuit Relations are from the newly published edition, edited by R. G. Thwaites, and published by Burrows Bros., of Cleveland, Ohio.

buffalo, and almost all the other early voyagers speak of the caribou and other deer as being very plentiful in this region. They came to be regularly counted upon as a supply of food, being easily killed as they swam from the islands to the mainland.

Another species of wild animal, whose aggressive enterprise has secured for it a prominent place in the early annals of America, also abounded in this region. Wherever they halted they became a prey to the mosquitos, who are represented by the pious father as resting not day and night, and as more terrible to face than death itself. They continued to have difficulty with the rapids between the Long Sault and the Thousand Islands. On the evening of the 25th, "we arrived at the mouth of lake Saint Ignace, where eels abound in prodigious numbers." This is that region of the lake of the Thousand Islands, between the Brockville Narrows, or Chippewa Point, and Wellesley Island. In the large stretches of shallow, muddy-bottomed water, on the north and south sides of the river and off the lower end of Wellesley Island, there was a perfect paradise for eels, of which they took full advantage, leading, in turn, to the Indians taking much advantage of them. Thus this eel fishery was famous among the Indians for hundreds of miles around, and during the season the neighboring islands and shores were seldom without their Indian camps.

Lemoine and his band evidently took the southern or American channel through the islands. He notes the rocky cliffs along the route, but rather exaggerates their height and grandeur, as he speaks of being "everywhere confronted with towering rocks, now appalling and now pleasing to the eye." Noting the scantiness of the soil in many places, he says, "It is wonderful how large trees can find root among so many rocks."

Here they encountered for some days thunder storms accompanied with heavy winds. "On the 29th and 30th of July, the wind storm continues, and checks our progress at the mouth of a great lake called Ontario: we call it the lake of the Iroquois, because they have their villages on its southern side. The Hurons are at the other side farther inland." But at this very period the Iroquois were passing over to the northern shore, making war upon the Hurons, driving them back, killing many and making captives of others, especially the women and children. Hence,

before long, both sides of the lake were in the possession of the Iroquois, and the first mission established on the northern shore, the Kenté mission, was among a branch of the Iroquois, the Cayugas.

Having reached Lake Ontario, we need not follow the worthy father in his subsequent adventures among the Onondaga Indians. His stay was short ; for by the middle of August he was on his way back, and once he and his companions reach the river they have an easy voyage, broken only by the irresistible pursuit of game, everywhere abundant and easy of capture. Almost no particulars are given of this return trip. On the 6th of September, he is put ashore on Lake St. Louis, about twelve miles above Montreal, his Indians being afraid to run the Sault St. Louis, now the Lachine rapids.

This trip of Lemoine's to the Onondagas having roused the jealousy of the Mohawks, he had to promise to visit them also. This he accomplished in the following year 1655. He left Montreal on the 17th of August, with twelve Iroquois and two Frenchmen, and a month later he had reached the Mohawk village of Agnie. Few details are given of this voyage. In the Relation for the year the summary runs thus. "The route is one of precipices, lakes and rivers, of hunting and fishing, of weariness and recreation, varying in different parts. Soon after their departure our travellers killed eighteen wild cows, within less than an hour, on prairies prepared by nature alone for those ownerless herds. They were wrecked a little farther on, in an impetuous torrent which carried them into a bay where they found the gentlest calm in the world." As usual when they got beyond the river they found game much scarcer, and they were almost starved before they reached their destination. Owing to troubles between the Iroquois and the Algonquins, they could not return by way of the St. Lawrence, but were compelled to make a very fatiguing overland journey to the south.

This same year another journey up the St. Lawrence was made by Fathers Joseph Chaumont and Claude Dablon, on their way to the Onondaga settlement. They left Montreal on the 8th of October, 1655, and the details of the trip are recorded in Father Dablon's journal. After making the portage of the St. Louis, or Lachine rapids, they crossed Lake St. Louis on the

9th. The 10th being Sunday, they rested. "On the 12th we ascended many rapids by dint of hard paddling." Having caught sight of some Mohawks, they had to spend the night on guard for fear of their attacking the Huron portion of the band. On the 13th and 14th, their provisions failing, and having no luck either in fishing or hunting, they were reduced to the extremity of eating a wild cow which had been drowned. The wild cow he describes as a "species of hind—these animals having horns like the stag's, and not like those of our European bull."

"The 15th. God made us pass from scarcity to abundance by giving our hunters eight bears." Next day it rained, and they feasted and rested. On the 17th they killed thirty bears and had another great feast, after which they drank bear's grease and rubbed their bodies over with it. Strange to say, only one of the band suffered from nightmare in consequence. But he had such a realistic attack of that malady that he could not get over it when wakened; and the whole company spent a day and a half in reducing him to a normal condition. The places are yet unnamed, but it appears that this incident occurred in the neighborhood of Lake St. Francis, for, on the 20th, they "passed the falls of the lake after dragging our canoes through four or five rapids in the space of half a league." This evidently refers to the Long Sault. "Early on the 24th we reached Lake Ontario, at the entrance to which five stags were killed toward evening." What he calls Lake Ontario is what Lemoine called Lake St. Ignace, being the lower part of the Lake of the Thousand Islands. For Dablon the lake evidently extends below Brockville, for, he says, "furious rapids must be passed, which serve as the outlet of the lake: then one enters a beautiful sheet of water, sown with various islands, distant hardly a quarter of a league from one another. It is pleasant to see the herds of cows or deer swimming from isle to isle. Our hunters cut them off on their return to the mainland, and lined the entire shore with them, leading them to death whithersoever they chose. On the 25th we advanced eight leagues up the lake's mouth, which is barely three-quarters of a league wide. We entered the lake itself on the 26th, proceeding seven or eight leagues. Such a scene of awe-inspiring beauty I have never beheld; nothing but

islands and huge masses of rock, as large as cities, all covered with cedars and firs. The lake itself is lined with crags fearful to behold, for the most part overgrown with cedars. Toward evening we crossed from the north to the south side." This was evidently across to Alexandria Bay, by the foot of Wellesley Island, for he continues: "On the 27th we proceeded twelve good leagues through a multitude of islands, large and small, after which we saw nothing but water on all sides." From this and other accounts we learn that the route to the Iroquois country followed the Canadian shore up to the neighborhood of Grenadier Island, then crossed over to the American shore in the neighborhood of Alexandria Bay, thence following the American channel through the Thousand Islands, and up between Wolfe Island and the southern shore, into Lake Ontario. More than ten years were yet to pass before any Frenchman should take the northern route and look upon the site of Kingston.

The Onondagas remained steadfast in their purpose of having the French establish a regular settlement among them. They continued, with some impatience, to press the matter upon the two Fathers during the winter which they spent with them. Hence it was deemed expedient that one of them should return to Quebec to explain the situation to the Governor. The journey was undertaken by Father Dablon, who left Onondaga on the 2nd of March, 1656. The season was exceedingly unpropitious for such a journey, hence the sufferings of the Father and his band of about twenty Indians, were very great. The continued rains, in addition to the extreme discomfort which they afforded, weakened without removing the ice on the lake, while they opened up many of the streams. Thus they could proceed by neither winter nor summer modes of travel.

By the 17th of the month they seem to have reached the Lake of the Thousand Islands, though, as in his previous account, he regards Lake Ontario as reaching below Brockville. In going down the American channel from the head of Wolfe Island, partly on the river and partly on shore, he describes their progress as follows: "We passed all the seventeenth with feet in the water, weather rough and road frightful. At times we had to climb with feet and hands over mountains of snow; again, to walk over great ice-blocks; and again, to pass over marshes;

plunge into thickets, fell trees for bridging rivers, cross streams, and avoid precipices; while at the day's end we had made barely four short leagues. On the eighteenth we proceeded six leagues. On the nineteenth, St. Joseph's day, as we were pursuing our course over the ice of the great lake, it opened under one of my feet. I came off better than a poor Onnontaguehronnon hunter, who, after a long struggle with the ice, which had given way under him, was swallowed up and lost in the water beyond the possibility of rescue. Having escaped these dangers, we entered a road of extreme difficulty, beset with rocks as high as towers, and so steep that one makes his way over them with hands as well as feet. After this we were again forced to run three leagues over the ice, never stopping for fear of breaking through, and then to pass the night on a rock opposite Otondiata, which is on the route commonly taken by beaver hunters." This is the earliest mention of Otondiata, a famous Indian stopping place on the highway of war and the chase, between the Iroquois settlements to the south of the lake and the Huron territory and beaver grounds, reached by the Gananoque river and the Rideau lakes. The St. Lawrence river was commonly attained by way of the Oswegatche. Otondiata, which means, it is said, the "stone stairs," was the chief camping place in the neighbourhood of the eel fishery. In various references to the place, from this time on, the name is applied to different localities, both among the islands and on the mainland, from Brockville to Grenadier Island. In the present account it is probably Grenadier Island, or one in its vicinity, which is intended, that being the locality where the crossing was made from one shore to the other, in going and coming from the western Iroquois country. Thus the narrative continues: "We made a canoe for crossing the lake; and, as we were a company of twenty, a part went first. On nearing the other shore they struck their prow against an ice-floe; and there they were all in the water, some catching at the battered canoe, and others at the ice that had wrecked it. They all succeeded in saving themselves, and after repairing their boat of bark sent it back to us that we might follow them. We did so on the night of the twenty-first of March. We had eaten for dinner only a very few roots boiled in clean water, yet we were forced to lie down supperless on a bed of

pebbles, at the sign of the Stars and under shelter of an icy north wind. On the following night we lay more softly, but not more comfortably, our bed being of snow, and the day after rain attended us on a frightful road over rocks fearful to behold, both for their height and for their size, and as dangerous to descend as they were difficult to climb. In order to scale them we lent one another a hand. They border the lake ; and, as it was not yet wholly free from ice, we were forced to undergo this labor."

"On the morning of the twenty-fifth a deer delayed us until noon. We made three leagues, in pleasant weather, and over a tolerable road, finding very seasonably, at our halting place, a canoe or rather whole tree-trunk hollowed out, which God seems to have put into our hands for completing the passage of the lake without fear of the ice."

"On the morrow seven of us embarked in this dugout, and in the evening reached the mouth of the lake, which ends in a waterfall and turbulent rapids. Here God showed us still another favour, for, on leaving our dugout, we found a fairly good bark canoe, with which we accomplished forty leagues in a day and a half, not having made more than that on foot during the three preceding weeks, owing both to the severe weather and the bad roads."

"Finally on the thirtieth of March we arrived at Montreal, having left Onnontague on the second. Our hearts found here the joy felt by pilgrims on reaching their own country."

On learning of the attitude of the Onondagas, and of their menacing anxiety to have the French accept their invitation to make a considerable establishment in their midst, the Quebec authorities found themselves in a very perplexing situation. If they declined the proffered hospitality and friendship, they were threatened with an Iroquois invasion. To accept the invitation, however, was to put their heads into the lion's mouth, and no lion's moods were ever more difficult to forecast, than those of the Iroquois. The faith of the Jesuits, not in the Indians, but in God, carried the day, and it was decided to accept the invitation.

This Jesuit faith was of the most unquenchable kind. Failure in missionary enterprise was taken to be no less an indication of Divine guidance, than the greatest success. With all their faith, experience had taught them to expect but slow progress,

Hence, every success was regarded as a more or less miraculous intervention of the Divine Spirit, while failure merely meant the preparation of the soil for a glorious harvest by and by. Even extremities of torture and death represented but the crowning favour of Heaven in selecting the victim for the supreme honour of martyrdom. The inspiring words, "*Sanguis martyrum semen est Christianorum*" were ever on their lips. Where every defeat was a victory, and every victory a triumphant miracle, we have the conditions which go a very long way towards making possible the impossible.

The company which left Quebec on this enterprise consisted of about forty Frenchmen, a party of Onondagas who had come down for them, some Senecas who had also come seeking an alliance, and a party of Hurons. The whole company left Quebec, on the seventh of May, 1656, in two large shallops and several canoes. On the 8th of June they left Montreal in twenty canoes.

From the journal of one of the missionaries we learn some particulars of the journey from Montreal. "We had not proceeded two leagues when a band of Agnieronon Iroquois (Mohawks) saw us from afar. Mistaking us for Algonquins and Hurons, they were seized with fear and fled into the woods, but when they recognized us, on seeing our flag—which bore the name of Jesus in large letters, painted on fine white taffeta—flying in the air, they approached us. Our Onnontaeronnon Americans received them with a thousand insults, reproaching them with their treachery and brigandage; they then fell upon their canoes, stole their arms and took the best of all their equipment. They said that they did this by way of reprisal, for they themselves had been pillaged a few days before by the same tribe. That was all the consolation gained by those poor wretches in coming to greet us."

"Entering Lake St. Louis, one of our canoes was broken, an accident which happened several times during our voyage. We landed and our ship carpenters found everywhere material enough wherewith to build a vessel in less than a day—that is, our savages had no difficulty in procuring what was needed to make the gondolas which carried our baggage and ourselves."

"We killed a number of elk, and of the deer which our French

call 'wild cows.' On the 13th of June, and the three following days, we found ourselves in currents of water so rapid and so strong that we were at times compelled to get into the water in order to drag behind us, or carry on our shoulders, our boats and all our baggage. We were wet through and through; for, while one half of our bodies was in the water, the sky saturated the other with a heavy rain. We exerted all our strength against the wind and the torrents with even more joy of heart than fatigue of body."

"On the 17th of the same month we found ourselves 'at one end of a lake which some confound with Lake St. Louis. We gave it the name of St. Francis to distinguish it from the one which precedes it. It is fully ten leagues long and three or four leagues wide, in some places, and contains many beautiful islands at its mouths. The great river Saint Lawrence, widening and spreading its waters at various points, forms those beautiful lakes, and then narrowing its course it once more assumes the name of river."

"On the 20th of June we passed the grand sault. Five fawns killed by our hunters, and a hundred catfish taken by our fishermen, made our troubles easier to bear. Our larder was as well stocked with meat and fish at that time, as it was deficient in everything at the end of our journey."

"Toward evening some hunters perceived us, and on seeing so many canoes in our company they fled, leaving behind them some booty for our people, who seized their weapons, their beaver skins and all their baggage. But, capturing one of those hunters, we found that he belonged to a tribe of the Andastaeronns, with whom we were not at war. Our French, therefore, gave back to them what they had plundered; this, however, did not induce our savages to display the same civility."

"On the 27th of June, we passed the last rapid which is half way between Montreal and Onnontagé—that is a distance of forty or fifty leagues from both places."

"On the 29th, after travelling night and day because our stock of provisions was getting very low, we met three canoes of Annieronns returning from man-hunting, who brought back with them the scalps of four savages of the Neds-percez nation, and a woman and two children as captives."

"On the first of July we perceived and gave chase to a canoe; when we overtook it we found that it belonged to the village of Onnontaghe. We were told that we were expected there, and that Father Joseph Chaumont, who had remained there alone, was in good health."

Arriving at Onondaga in due course the French established themselves there, but being threatened with a general massacre two years later, they had to abandon the place in 1658. In 1660, desiring to restore friendly relations with the French, the Onondagas and the Cayugas sent back four French prisoners and desired a Jesuit missionary to return to them. Father Simon Lemoine went in 1661.

Relations with the Iroquois in general, and the Mohawks in particular, continued to be very unpleasant and uncertain, until after M. de Tracy's celebrated winter expedition against the Mohawks in 1666, by way of the Champlain route. This thoroughly alarmed all the nations of the Iroquois league, causing them to make and maintain for a number of years a peace with the French.

These years of peace gave opportunity for an immense development of French enterprise, alike in the line of establishing missions, and making those celebrated exploring expeditions, which extended from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. As giving direction and encouragement to this golden age of French colonial expansion in America, we find in Canada the greatest of the Intendants, Talon, and the most celebrated of the Governors, Frontenac; while in France itself there was the greatest of French ministers, Colbert, representing the most powerful of French monarchs, Louis XIV.

By fostering the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, securing them the privilege of establishing missions among the western Indians, and stimulating a friendly rivalry in such enterprises between the Jesuits and the Sulpicians, Talon sought to encourage the expansion of French power and control over the various Indian nations. As part of this movement we have the establishment, by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, of the Kentè mission among a branch of the Cayugas in 1668, M. Trouvè and M. Fenelon, a near relative of the celebrated Bishop of Cambray, being the pioneer missionaries in that region.

An account of the establishing of the mission is given in an appendix to the History of Montreal, attributed to Dollier de Casson. The account consists mainly of a letter from M. Trouvè, one of the missionaries. He says they set out from Lachine on October 2nd, 1668, accompanied by two Indians from the village of Kentè. They surmounted safely the obstacles between Lakes St. Louis and St. Francis, partly by portaging and partly by dragging their canoes up the river. On Lake St. Francis they discovered two famished Indian women and a child, fleeing from captivity among the Iroquois. Instead of allowing them to go on to Montreal, the two Indians who were with the missionaries insisted on taking the women and child with them. After Lake St. Francis they spent four days in overcoming the most difficult rapids on the whole river, referring to the Long Sault. They rested from their exertions on one of the larger islands in the river. While there one of the savages, seeking comfort from a small keg of brandy which he had brought with him, became intoxicated and at once irresponsible and uncontrollable. He sought to kill one of the captives, but she took to the woods, escaping the fury of the Indian, but facing starvation on an island from which there was no means of egress. The other woman and her child were finally permitted to seek safety in the direction of Montreal, which they eventually reached. Even the lost woman, after being five or six days a prisoner on the island, was discovered and taken to Montreal by a band of Hurons. No further details are given of the journey except that they reached Kentè on the day of the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, and were well received.

This was the beginning of the settlements on the Canadian side of the lake. Soon after this Cataraqui was visited, and an establishment begun there. But that marks the opening of a new era of exploration.

ADAM SHORTT.

THE ETHICS OF PLATO.

ARISTOTLE was the first to grasp the great truth that in Philosophy and Science, as in Statecraft, our motto must be "divide et impera;" he mapped out the field of knowledge into what are still recognized as its main departments, and Philosophy has not been slow to recognize his merits. The thought of Plato, on the other hand, is permeated with the idea of the essential unity of all truth, an idea which in these days of specialisation is perhaps even more valuable. The Aristotelian method, when carried to excess, leads to the turning of more or less arbitrary lines of division into impassable gulfs, across which Metaphysics and Ethics, Science and Theology, stretch wistful hands in vain; while the Platonic has often caused men to ignore fundamental differences, and to hide great gaps in their systems by the use of vague generalisations, leaping to first principles from a few isolated instances, forgetting that Plato himself has insisted as strongly as Bacon on the importance of the *media axiomata* (e.g. *Philebus* 17 A).

No part of the philosophy of Aristotle has been more fully accepted as the embodiment of the Greek ideal in its fullest and most complete form than his *Ethics*; but this work, in spite of extraordinary flashes of insight, in the main represents rather the limitations of the Hellenic spirit than those permanent and universal features which give the Greek ideal its value. In his grasp of the problems involved, and in his conception of the ethical ideal he falls far short of Plato, though it is sometimes a little difficult to separate the ethical speculations of the latter from the æsthetic and metaphysical ideas in which they are enwrapped. This entanglement, far from being a defect in Plato's art, is a necessary consequence of his unique manner of presenting his thought, and of his strong conviction of the essential unity of all truth; we must be careful lest in considering his ethics by themselves we act, in his own words, like unskilful carvers, and instead of following the natural joints, tear and mangle the helpless bird; yet, if in thus separating them from the body of his work, we are careful not to forget the fundamental unity of his thought, it may not be without interest to

inquire what were the conclusions of the greatest of Greek thinkers on subjects which are still of vital importance.

It is the great glory of Christian Ethics to have grasped firmly the kindred ideas that one of the main functions of the science is to investigate the nature of evil, and that the investigation of this problem concerns not only the sage, but also the ordinary man, the slave and the publican as well as the saint and the philosopher. In both these points it was anticipated by Plato. No other philosopher has ever touched life at points so many and so various. Tall, handsome, broad-shouldered, of noble descent, gifted with perfect health, a dashing cavalry leader, the friend of statesmen and of kings, in his youth the writer of delicate amorette, some of them of very doubtful morality, he had mixed with the best society of the Hellenic world, had seen its apparent beauty, its dalliance and its wit, had known to the full its real grossness, and its inability to satisfy the cravings of man's deeper nature. Yet as the friend and companion of Socrates he had been present while that great teacher conversed with the traders and the carpenters, yes, and with the harlots, in the market place, and had doubtless shared in the reproach so often directed against his master that he consorted with low and vulgar persons, and was quite regardless of that sense of his own dignity which characterized the well-bred Athenian gentlemen; in this intercourse he had seen that the lower classes were as debased as the upper, their ideals as low and as sensual, and without any touch of that aesthetic refinement which the rich threw over their immorality, under the influence of which "vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." Gradually out of this varied intercourse there dawned on Plato the conviction, a conviction which widened until it took possession of his whole nature as completely as ever it did of that of Hebrew Prophet or mediæval Saint, that at the root of this misery, this sordid "striving and striving and ending in nothing" lay a single cause, which took many forms, but which was always of the same essential nature, and which we can only describe in a word which would have been meaningless to the ordinary Greek, as sin. The bright joyous nature of the typical Athenian gentleman never attained to the thought that the carnal mind is enmity against God, that the natural man must be crushed and broken and transformed

ere the new man, at harmony with himself and with his God, can be made manifest. To this conception Plato rose, and the great difference between his Ethics and that of Aristotle is that while the latter looks upon a good life as a scientific, or rather as an artistic achievement of which the artist has some reason to be proud, Plato considers the best we can do as fading to nothingness in the light of heaven; the good man, though for a moment he may feel a pardonable pride as he gazes down upon the vulgar throng, "tearing each other in their slime" below, must yet, as he thinks of the perfect pattern laid up eternal in the heavens, count himself after all but an unprofitable servant.

When man has attained to the consciousness of imperfection, both in himself and in the world, he is apt to take council of despair. "I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there, and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there." "The just man perisheth in his righteousness, and the wicked man longeth his life in his wickedness." "I looked for righteousness and behold oppression, for judgment and behold a cry." "For the wickedness that is on earth exceeds far the good that is in it." (Plato, *Repub.* 379 C.) Looking into his own heart, he sees sin and evil desires, "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life," and a faint flickering desire to do better which knows not how to realize itself. Whence comes this evil in the life of man, this baneful power which throttles his best endeavours? The answer of Plato is in effect one which has been given by many men in many ages, by the early Christian and by the modern Hindoo, and which will continue to be given so long as there exist tender hearted, sensitive mystics who, revolting against the tyranny of the flesh, try to free the pure spirit from its thralldom, and to take the Kingdom of Heaven by violence. The evil lies in matter.

"For I know that in my flesh dwelleth no good thing," says St. Paul. The mind of man, the spectator of all time and of all existence (*Repub.* 486 A) is enclosed in this body of sin and death, and in the latter all things evil and base have their origin. "But if, my dear Glaucon, we desire to see the soul as it is in very truth, we must not look upon it maimed by its association with the body and by other evils, as now we see it, but as it is

when purified and as we can behold it with the eye of reason. ———For now when we look upon it, we are like those who caught sight of the sea-god Glaucus, whose original nature could with difficulty be discerned, since of the old members of his body some had been broken off and others crushed, and he was all battered by the waves, while new accretions had adhered to him, shells and seaweed and stones, so that he looked more like some evil beast than as he was in reality. So the soul, as now we see it, is disfigured by countless ills. We should fix our attention upon its love of reason, upon its strivings and upon the companionships for which its kinship to the divine and immortal and eternal impels it to seek; we should look on it as it would be if it strove with its whole being after such fellowship, and by the impulse thence derived brought itself up out of the sea in which it now is, and disencumbered itself of the stones and shells which now adhere to it, and of that uncouth multitude of earthy and rocky substances with which it is now overgrown, because of those earthy banquetings which are deemed so felicitous (Repub. x. 611 C. sq). To say that the many ills to which man is heir, the sins which so easily beset him, are due to the association of his soul with the body which mars and stains all its beauty, is a conclusion against which many of our natural instincts revolt. Matter, even if the source of ill, is also the source of much good; through it the indwelling spirit can manifest itself, can mould it into shapes of beauty and of grace which are visible emanations of the God-head, God manifest to sense. This body of death can be so beautiful and pure that we seem forced to agree with Swinburne when he cries passionately over the body of his dead mistress:

“Her mouth an alms-giving,
The glory of her garments charity,
The beauty of her bosom a good deed.

.

And all her body was more virtuous
Than souls of women fashioned otherwise.”

And yet even beauty, radiant with the light from heaven, can lead astray; sin lieth ever at the door:

“medio de fonte leporum
surgit amari aliquid, atque ipsis in floribus angat.”

History affords us all too many examples of the nameless orgies in which the worship of physical beauty culminates:—"Nowhere in any age of Greek history, or in any part of Hellas, did the love of physical beauty, the sensibility to radiant scenes of nature, the consuming fervour of personal feeling, assume such grand proportions and receive so illustrious an expression as they did in Lesbos. At first this passion blossomed into the most exquisite lyrical poetry that the world has known: this was the flower-time of the *Æolians*, their brief and brilliant spring. But the fruit it bore was bitter and rotten. Lesbos became a by-word for corruption. The passions which for a moment had flamed into the gorgeousness of art, burning their envelope of words and images, remained a mere furnace of sensuality, from which no expression of the divine in human life could be extracted."* The Greek of the decadence has fully revealed himself in the *Anthology*, and the spectacle is not a pleasant one. The Italian of the Renaissance, as portrayed in the *Autobiography* of Benvenuto Cellini, however fascinating to the unregenerate mind, cannot be considered as embodying a satisfactory ideal. In our revolt from the sensuality to which this worship of the physical leads, we fly to the other extreme and condemn even innocent beauty as sinful, and matter as the root of all evil. Thence arise austerities from which in the end there is a recoil, the austerities of St. Simeon Stylites, of St. Jerome and the monks of the Thebaid, or of the modern Indian fakir. Sometimes the same view leads to very different results. We cannot get away from our bodies; the taint of the physical is over our most spiritual actions; but if our bodies are inherently evil, then so long as we live our actions must also be so, whether we be rakes or anchorites. Now sensuality is undoubtedly pleasant, and by invincible logic no more sinful than any other line of action. Thus, as the history of the *Albigenses* shows, the doctrine of the sinfulness of matter ends logically not in self-denial, but in the grossest forms of excess. From this conclusion our better nature revolts; there is a recoil to saner ideals, and the weary cycle begins anew, until, like Plato in the *Meno*, we despair of human aid, and wait with impatience or with resignation for "the spark from heaven to fall."

*J. A. SYMONDS: *Lyric Poets of Greece*.

The Meno begins with the question of the ardent young Thessalian: is Virtue teachable? Socrates, who throughout the dialogue is in a somewhat quizzical humour, declares his ignorance of the real nature of virtue, a preliminary question which must be settled before we can tell whether it is teachable. The first answer of Meno is that Virtue consists of Justice, Temperance, Chastity, or what you will. This enumeration of examples is soon shown to be no definition, and Meno, driven from one position to another, finally declares Virtue to be "to desire all such things as are fair and noble, and to be able to obtain them." But no one desires anything, Socrates forces him to admit, which does not seem to him good and noble and fair, and therefore we are all virtuous, a conclusion at variance with admitted facts. Furthermore, we must strive for even these good things in a just and temperate manner, and thus Virtue again breaks up. Meno now turns upon his tormentor. "What is the good of this search?" he says. "How can we search for that of the nature of which we are ignorant? We might find it and pass it by, or might pick up something else in full confidence that we had the genuine article." This dilemma Socrates solves by means of the celebrated doctrine of ἀνάμνησις (Recollection.) In a former world our souls lived in close contact with Beauty and Virtue and Knowledge as these are in their essential nature, and all our present knowledge consists in recalling more or less imperfectly some fragments of the divine ideals which we once knew so well. Recurring to the former statement that no man desires anything save that which seems to him noble and fair and good, the disputants decide that virtue is evidently that form of knowledge which will enable men to know whether what seems good to them is so in reality. But if knowledge, then teachable. But it is not so, as is proved by the very obvious fact that the best men often have bad sons, and that too though they took all manner of pains with their education. Therefore, virtue can only come by some divine chance, like a spark from heaven. (θείᾳ μοίρᾳ παραχρηνομένη)

In the Phædo, which tells of the last day in the life of Socrates, and of the comfort which he gave, not to himself—for he needed none—but to his sorrowing disciples, the two principles of the seen and the unseen, the temporal and the spiritual, body and soul, are set in direct opposition. The one soars ever up-

ward, seeking to attain to the divine to which it is akin, but falls back, shackled "to the earthly body and grievous growth of clay," which desires food and drink and carnal delights, in which like a beast in the mire it would fain wallow. To get rid of this foul companion by suicide would be easy, but we have been put here by wise and powerful Gods, and like soldiers given a position we must not quit the field. Yet the true philosopher will strive to keep the body under, knowing that from it come sin and misery and all that is evil, will use it and trust to it only in so far as is necessary, and will shrink with shuddering fear and loathing from

" These prodigies of myriad nakednesses
And twisted shapes of lust, unspeakable,"

to which it ever invites him. Keeping his soul pure, he will endure until the long hoped for day of dissolution comes, when he will gladly go to the bright Gods from whom he has for a time been separated, there to find all his desires and aspirations free to fulfil themselves. Whereas the soul which has enslaved itself to the body, indulging in so called pleasures,

" Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.
Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres
Lingering, and sitting by a new-made grave,
As loth to leave the body that it loved,
And linked itself by carnal sensuality
To a degenerate and degraded state."

(Milton "Comus." An almost literal translation of Plato, *Phædo*. 81 C—E)

For all the desires and aspirations of the natural man are sinful, connected with the world of Becoming, of fleeting change and phantasy; only the pure and enlightened soul is stable. Thus the true philosopher is good not from fear of consequences, or in hope of them, not because it profits to be so or because it is pleasant, but because by so doing he will become more like to God in this world and in the next, more free from the torment of the flesh. All others are the slaves of their own hopes and fears, even when their slavery gives to their actions the appearance of virtue. We see then that the body can act upon the soul, and render it coarse and defiled; yet their connection is an external one, against which all the finer instincts of the philosopher revolt. The power of the good man to overcome his pas-



sions is not here discussed, and is indeed assumed to be easy, but a difficulty arises. The man chooses the course of action he intends to follow; with what part of his composite nature does he make the choice? Not with the body, which is sinful; not by the soul which cannot choose anything but good; not by any interaction between them, for then virtue would be merely a matter of the soul and body which we inherited, and Plato is resolute for the freedom of the will. Again we are at an impasse, for which the solution in the *Meno* of *θεῖόν τι* is somewhat inadequate and external.

It has been said that this rigid opposition between soul and body, between this world of separation from God, and a hereafter of union with Him, is a conception which in his later years Plato transcended. A quotation from the *Theaetetus*, certainly a late dialogue, is sufficient to disprove this: "For evil cannot be destroyed, Theodorus; it must needs be that to all eternity there exist a principle opposite to the good. Now evil cannot be situated in God, but must of necessity frequent our mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Therefore we should strive to flee away from earth with all speed unto that other country; and we flee away by making ourselves in so far as we are able like unto God; and we are made like unto him when we become just and holy and wise." (*Theaetetus* 176.) But though Plato never lost sight of this divine element, without which no system of morality is complete, though he insisted, with a vehemence which recalls the kindred doctrine of mediæval Christianity, that we must imitate the divine, it is true that in his later writings he tends to lay stress on a different aspect of the problem, and to find the solution in a very different direction.

"Heaven alone can help us now," said the storm-tossed mariner.

"Is it as bad as that?" replied his wife, and we can trace in Plato something of the same thought. In his later work for the most part he devotes himself to finding a solution on the lines that in man's own nature lies the possibility of perfection. Man can rule himself, and only in so doing does he become truly man. We are not tempted above that we are able (*Republic* 613 A); we needs must love the highest when we see it, for man must cleave to that to which he is akin, and our closest kinship is with

the divine. In man's composite nature the later Psychology of Plato, as given in the Republic, recognizes three distinct elements—(1) Reason, which though small in bulk as compared with the others, is the rightful king and lord of all; (2) The desires, forming by far the largest part of our nature; and (3) τὸ θυμοειδὲς, the descriptions of which are not wholly consistent with each other. Pure Reason by itself supplies no motive power (οὐθεν κινεῖ), but acts on the passions through this principle of "the spirited," or "righteous indignation," which seems to combine elements later known as Will, Conscience and Practical Reason. It is the rightful ally of reason, and carries out its behests, subjugating the passions and making use of such of them as are not utterly lawless. For he seems to recognize a descending scale in the appetites, some of them being amenable to reason, others more or less hostile, a few wholly lawless and fit only to be weeded out with remorseless severity. When each of the three parts does its work, reason issuing commands, "the spirited" acting as executive, and the desires acquiescing in its supremacy (an acquiescence which necessarily involves that a principle of reason is implicit in them, so that we are really flung back into the old vicious circle), when the whole man is fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working of every part in due proportion, then we have a good man. Similarly, the ideal bad man is produced not when the nobler elements are rooted out, but when they are made the slaves of our lower nature, and a sort of false harmony, or inverted pyramid with the desires at the top, is the result. In his attempt, as Aristotle would say, after excessive unification (λίαν ἐνοῦν), in his revolt against our fleshly grovelling in the mire of sin, against the sordid aims and sensual gratifications of his fellows, Plato sometimes tends to eliminate the desires altogether, without seeing what a blank negation of all life is therein involved; but usually his noble sanity, and his Greek love for the beautiful impel him to grant them a place in the perfect life, and to speak of harmony not of annihilation. (Repub. 431 D sq. 586 E sq. et passim.)

For to eliminate the passions from the life of man is to eliminate life itself, and this Plato came to see. In the Republic he had made an attempt to show their place in the good life,

and this attempt is carried out more consistently in the *Philebus*, a dialogue of great importance in an appreciation of Plato's later Ethical views; for though it is cumbersome in style, inartistic in structure, and lacking in unity, these very defects in so great an artist as Plato go to show the strenuous nature of the attempt which he was making to unite elements which he had torn asunder with all the fervour of his early genius. The solution given in this dialogue is briefly that feeling is in its very nature indeterminate (*ἀπερρον*); that before it becomes anything (i.e. anything real) the limiting and determining law (*περας*) of reason must be laid upon it. Reason stands as it were in the centre, gradually reducing to determinate being the vast and formless ocean of feeling which on every hand welters away out of sight. This theory comes out in the course of a discussion as to the respective claims of Wisdom and Pleasure to be the highest good; while Pleasure as such is dethroned, it is admitted that certain harmless and necessary pleasures have their place in the good life. But the two positions are really inconsistent. What of the pleasures—for Plato far the majority—which are neither necessary or harmless? If they are the same in kind as those which are admitted, then why may they also not be rationalised? If they are different then again we have the old dualism reappearing, though our synthesis has certainly come nearer to being comprehensive than formerly. Indeed, many questions arise. Whence does Reason get its motive power? If there is no absolute separation between reason and the passions, if as we are told, the words "pure reason" and "pure passion" are alike meaningless, for each is implicit in the other, then how does reason get its bias toward evil? Why do men turn their great faculties to base ends? If the cause lies in the passions, then how are they capable of being turned to good? What is there divine in this muddy vesture of decay? Neutral do you call it, mere indifferent matter to be worked up by the formative influence of the Spirit? Then how comes the active positive evil which there is in this world? How does the fleshly become wrought up into that which is hostile to Spirit? How does the Spirit itself become "procuress to the Lords of Hell?" How does such a theory account for the sympathy which we feel for many forms of evil? How comes it that we do *not* love the highest when we see it?

“ Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor.”

is a fact to be explained, not to be explained away. One modern theory speaks of an Eternal Self-Consciousness gradually revealing itself. But if an Eternal Self-Consciousness reveals itself in a perpetual process, every moment of which is filled with imperfections, must there not be a distorting medium which is not reasonable? The world is certainly reasonable in the sense of being knowable ; and a thing is only knowable by reference to the end in the light of which it is viewed ; but what of that end itself? Rational means a) understandable b) moral ; and to argue from one to the other is not so admissible as is sometimes supposed ; e.g., I understand perfectly—to use Conan Doyle's example—that the fall of a splinter from the roof of my skull upon a certain portion of my brain—a fall which I am powerless to prevent, and for which no conscious action of mine is in any way responsible—may in a moment change me from a more or less normal human being into a degraded idiot, with every obscene and vicious tendency ; but I do not in the least understand what purpose is served by such a lowering of my nature. If I am told that I must look at such things *in ordine ad universum*, the case is made no better. Whence, to begin with, come the instincts which make such a point of view so difficult to attain? And even granted that I do rise to this lofty and impersonal height, I still find it impossible to conceive any way in which my suffering furthers progress towards any reasonable end. In the moral world the reason is compelled to realize itself through a medium which is always indifferent and sometimes hostile ;—which is reasonable only in the barren sense of being understandable ; yet if we fall back upon the other solution of an imperfect God gradually revealing himself because only gradually evolving himself, even setting aside the question of the end to which he is tending, we are at a loss to find an explanation for the ideas of perfection—ideas not purely negative—which we undoubtedly have. It may here be worth while to glance at a modern school which sometimes claims to have received the mantle of Plato, and which proves triumphantly that it is impossible to sin against reason by the following ingenious process :—If a man's whole nature be turned in a certain direction, he can-

not proceed in any other ; but " knowing, feeling and willing are simply aspects of the one self-conscious subject ;" therefore he must always act in the way in which his self-consciousness directs him ; therefore the dualism between Reason and Passion is transcended. In other words, we call the whole man by the name of " self-conscious subject," identify self-consciousness with Reason, prove that granting the truth of our premises and of our identification, it is impossible to act against reason, and then go on our way rejoicing. To the ordinary man it appears that this argument either involves a double begging of the question, or else amounts to the somewhat doubtful triumph that we are free, because we are conscious of our own slavery. While it is always difficult, and often impossible, to tell what was passing through the mind of Plato, it is certain that he was confronted by difficulties analogous to these. His final solution is given in the *Philebus*, and even here we see that there remains an element—for Plato a large element—alien and impervious to reason. For the presence of this, for the baneful influence which it exerts over man's life he has no explanation, save the myth of Er, the son of Armenius, with which the *Republic* closes. With this alien element, he seems to say, Philosophy has nothing to do ; it remains outside the pale of reason ; if you insist upon a solution I can only say that it must be along the lines, not of philosophy, but of religious mysticism.

The ideal which Plato holds up is a very noble one. His quarrel is not with the Sophists, for some of whom he has a very high regard, while for the rest his feeling is rather one of contemptuous indifference than of active dislike ; that dislike, or rather noble indignation mingled with scorn and deep pity, is reserved for the ordinary mass of mankind with their low ideals and grovelling ambitions. For the Kingdom to which he calls them is so infinitely nobler and purer, so much more truly pleasant, if they would but lift up their eyes and see. It is the same note which centuries after, in a poet-philosopher of a very different school, gives poignancy to the lament of Lucretius over the *caeca pectora* of mankind. Why will ye die ? There are realms of eternal bliss to which man can attain ; not by abstract contemplation, as Aristotle seems to say (*Ethics*, Bk X *ad fin*) ; not by a short cut through the kingdom of Sensuality (*Gorgias*

passim, and especially the concluding paragraph) or the Land of Mysticism (Repub. 519 C.)—those two roads which at first sight seem so alluring, and which so many ardent souls have ere now trodden in vain, but by a course of hard scientific and philosophic study, and of still harder service of our fellow men, stooping the lofty spirit to the petty tasks of everyday life (Repub. 540), so at last, keeping the eye of the soul bright and clear, we shall attain unto the vision beatific, to that city laid up eternal in the heavens, to the perfect pattern in the mount to which all earthly beauty is a faint approximation. For the unjust man Plato can imagine no more dreadful condemnation than that he may continue on in its wickedness forever (*ἵνα ἀθάνατος ᾗ ἀδικος ὢν*); an immortality of contented injustice, bereft of the higher joys which only the initiated know, is punishment enough.

It is a noble ideal; can man attain to it? Grant that he is free, that he is not tempted above that he is able, then the stern course of discipline prescribed by Plato has no terror for the earnest soul, however much the body shrinks from the prospect. But man's freedom is for Plato rather an article of faith than a reasoned conviction. His statement in the *Timæus*, that evil in nearly all cases is due to defective physique and faulty training, is in spite of its similarity in sound to certain modern theories really on the side of freedom; but his view is best summed up in the tremendous words of "the maiden daughter of Necessity," "The guilt be his who chooses; God is guiltless." (*αἰτία ἐλομένου θεός ἀναίτιος*. Repub. X.) It is an intuitive conviction, rooted in the deepest fibres of his being, that man is the author of his own destiny, and can work out his own salvation; but unlike the great modern teacher of Germany, whose deep moral earnestness verging on asceticism, so often recalls the pure spirit of Plato, he has not encumbered his conviction with a somewhat doubtful proof.

W. L. GRANT.

RECENT THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity. By John Caird, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. With a memoir by Edward Caird, D.C.L., LL.D., Master of Balliol. 2 Vols. Glasgow: James Mac-Lehose & Sons. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

THE hope held out in the Preface to the late Principal Caird's *University Sermons*, that his Gifford Lectures would be shortly published, has been promptly fulfilled. The editor, who has discharged a difficult and delicate task with admirable discretion, tells us that, while his brother's "craving to make things clear and intelligible to himself was very deep in his nature," his faith "was too closely bound up with his life and wrought into all his habits of mind by years of pastoral work" to be seriously shaken. "I think that it may fairly be said," says the Master of Balliol, "that his philosophy, as it grew to clearness in his mind, seemed rather to confirm and deepen his faith in Christianity, by rendering its most mysterious doctrines luminous, and showing how its principles serve to explain the life of man and of the universe, than essentially to disturb or change it." Of his brother's noble and beautiful character the editor speaks with fine feeling. "He was, I think, the most modest man I ever knew in his estimate of his own abilities and acquirements; and his great power as a speaker never seemed to awake in him any feeling of self-satisfaction. It was, indeed, so habitual, and, I might say, natural to him to move men by his gift of speech, that he never seemed to attach any special importance to it. On the other hand, he was apt to idealize and over-estimate the gifts of others, especially if they had any knowledge or ability which he did not himself possess." How perfectly these words characterize the man, those who were so fortunate as to profit by his teaching when he was Professor of Divinity in Glasgow will at once recognize. It might be added that as a teacher his criticism was as candid as it was kind. While he was capable on occasion of very plain speech, he was never swayed by personal feeling, or by anything but the deepest regard for truth and for the good of his students.

In the two opening lectures the author urges that the content of Christianity is essentially rational, and therefore that

there can be no absolute opposition between faith and reason. The aim of the following lecture is to show that the doctrine of the Trinity, the distinctively Christian idea of God, is not an unintelligible dogma, but a profound truth. In the conception of the Logos or Son of God is expressed the only tenable conception of God, viz., that He is a spiritual being, or, in other words, that there is "a self-revealing principle or personality within the very essence of the Godhead." If God must for ever realize Himself in all the infinite riches of his nature, there must be something to call forth that wealth, something to be known and loved by God. "Nay, seeing that love reaches, and can only reach, its highest expression in suffering and sacrifice, and that the richest purest blessedness is that which comes through pain and sorrow, can it be wrong to ascribe to God a capacity of self-sacrifice, a giving up of Himself, a going forth of His own being for the redemption of the world from sin and sorrow?" To the objection that this seems to make God simply "the Spirit of the world, growing with its growth and partaking of its incompleteness," it is answered that "we must think of all that unfolds itself progressively in the history of the world.....as already comprehended in the eternal self-revelation of God,"—as "only the temporal manifestation of what has existed ideally and eternally in the mind and purpose of God."

The next four lectures deal with the relation of God to the world. The inadequacy of the pantheistic and deistic views of this relation is exhibited with convincing force, and the attempt is made to make the Christian view intelligible. The only adequate conception must be "one which, without throwing doubt upon the absoluteness and infinitude of the divine nature, must yet be consistent with the reality of the outward world and the freedom and individuality of man." This conception involves (1) "that it is Infinite Mind or Intelligence which constitutes the reality of the world, not simply as its external Creator, but as the inward Spirit in and through which all things live and move and have their being; (2) that by its very nature, Infinite Mind or Spirit has in it a principle of self-revelation—a necessity of self-manifestation to and in a world of finite beings; (3) that the infinitude of God, conceived of as Infinite Spirit, so far from involving the negation or suppression of the finite world, is

rather the principle of the individuality and independence of nature and man."

One of the difficulties in accepting this conception of man's nature, which is implied in its being made in the image of God, is connected with the problem of the origin and nature of evil. The Augustinian doctrine of "original sin" cannot be accepted in the hard and literal sense in which it has often been stated, but it points to a truth deeper than it expresses. The moral order under which we live is inexplicable, if looked at from a purely individualistic point of view, and can only be understood in the light of what has been termed the corporate or organic life of the race. There is a sense in which it may be said that society creates the individual rather than the individual society. The author therefore concludes that "whatever exception we may take to the Augustinian doctrine as an explanation of the origin of evil, yet in its recognition of the organic unity of the race, and of the consequent implication of every individual member of it with its past history and its present moral complexion and character, it far surpasses the shallow philosophy which seeks a solution of the problem only by ignoring the stern facts of human history and experience."

The next question is whether moral evil is irremediable, or, if not, whether moral remedy is possible in the way of self-reformation, or only through external, supernatural interposition. Now, "goodness or moral character is from its very nature a thing which cannot be directly or immediately created, neither can it be restored even by an Omnipotent power.....If we could conceive of a goodness created or restored by an external power apart from the activity of the subject, such goodness would in reality belong, not to the subject, but to the power that operated in it." We cannot therefore admit the "absolute depravity" of man. "There is a sense in which even in sin, in a life abandoned to sensual or selfish indulgence, there is to be discerned an indication of the latent presence of that which is the principle of all goodness." How, then, is the restoration to goodness to be effected? The answer is contained in "the personality and life of Christ and in the Christian doctrines of Redemption and Grace." We have therefore to deal with (1) the idea of the Incarnation, (2) the idea of the Atonement, (3) the kingdom of the Spirit.

Now (1) in any true theory of the Incarnation we must reject all attempts to explain away the unity of two natures, the divine and the human. The history of the doctrine of the Person of Christ is, for the most part, the history of expedients by which the impossible attempt was made to solve the problem of the union of divine and human in one self-conscious personality by modifying or tampering with either the one or the other side of the combination. The author refuses to accept any of these compromises, maintaining that the union of the human with the divine in the person and life of Christ can only be explained as the absolute identification of His human mind and will with the mind and will of God, a union which, in the best and holiest of other men, is intermittent and partial. "It is not merely theoretically, as a matter of speculation, that we can conceive of the absolute union of the human and divine, nor is the splendour of spiritual greatness, hid under this vesture of decay, only at best a dim forecast or far-off prevision. It is the very central fact of our Christian faith that once for all it has been realized, and that in the person and life of Christ we can recognize a nature from which every dividing, disturbing element has passed away—a mind that was the pure medium of Infinite Intelligence, a heart that throbbed in perfect union with the Infinite Love, a will that never vibrated by one faintest aberration from the Infinite Will, a human consciousness possessed and suffused by the very spirit and life of the Living God."

(2) What view of the Atonement must be held in consistency with this conception of the person and life of Christ? It is impossible to accept either the theory of Anselm or the substitutionary theory, based as they are on a forced interpretation of the figures or metaphors of scripture. The elements of a true theory may be obtained in an answer to these two questions: (a) What kind of suffering for sin can we ascribe to a being by supposition sinless? (b) Is there any sense in which the moral benefits of the sufferings of a sinless being can be transferred to the subject? As to the first point, it may be laid down as a principle that the sinless will suffer for sin in proportion to his goodness. "But what ordinary men, even the best, can only rarely and feebly experience, He in whom was no sin was called in fullest measure constantly to bear." But, secondly, can this ex-

piatory moral suffering be in any way transferred from the innocent to the guilty? It is not an adequate answer to say that we "live under a moral order, of which the suffering of the innocent for the guilty is one of the most unquestionable characteristics." It is true that we suffer for others, but we do not, and cannot, sin for them. Nevertheless, there is a profound meaning in the Christian doctrine of "justification by faith." "The essential principle of the life of Christ becomes by faith the essential principle of our own," and this "faith" cannot be purely passive in its character. "The faith that makes us participants in His perfect righteousness and His atoning sacrifice and death, so far from being an attitude of mind inert, unintelligent, passive, is one of the most intense moral activity; so far from being destitute of moral value and significance, it may be said to be itself the principle of all moral excellence."

(3) The Christian theory of Redemption passes by a natural transition to the universal presence of God in the souls of individual believers and in the organic unity of the Church. It is not the view of the New Testament writers that the kingdom of the Spirit is a retrogression from the kingdom of the Son. "There is a presence of Christ with His believing followers, infinitely more intimate and profound than that of His outward contiguity as an individual person." The main idea thus suggested is that of "the organic unity of the Church, the idea, in other words, of all believers in Christ as not a mere collection of separate individualities, but as one corporate whole, of which Christ is the living Spirit or Head."

In the last lecture, on the Future Life, the author seems to me to have presented the only argument for Immortality which has any weight in the most convincing way. To give a mere summary of it would only spoil its force.

Even in the short account of this important work which has just been given, it will be evident that the late Principal of Glasgow University has added greatly to the debt we all owe him for his masterly *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*. It is too much to say that we have here the last word in the way of a much-needed philosophical System of Theology; and indeed the title of the work indicates that it is only an outline. A thoroughly satisfactory Theology can only be based upon a completely

reasoned Metaphysic, and such a Metaphysic is still a desideratum. On the other hand, it would be hard to find a work more full of sympathy with the living movement of the Christian consciousness, or so well fitted to pave the way for a philosophical interpretation of the main doctrines of the Church. No man who takes any interest in the philosophy of religion, and especially no Christian teacher, can afford to neglect this sympathetic, closely reasoned, and eloquent presentation of the fundamental ideas of Christianity.

The Theætetus of Plato. A Translation with an Introduction. By S. W. Dyde, D.Sc., Professor of Mental Philosophy, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899.

The teacher of philosophy meets with a peculiar difficulty in the practice of his art. The value of philosophical training lies, not so much in the acquirement of a definite set of ideas, as in the development of the faculty of philosophizing. It is quite possible to acquire a considerable amount of information about the history of philosophy and of current ideas in regard to its various branches without really entering into its inner spirit. Not that philosophy is merely a useful organ for the practice of a sort of intellectual gymnastic: if that were all, it would hardly be worthy of the attention of serious men, especially in an age when there is a widespread uncertainty in regard to the higher interests of the human spirit. Every philosophy worthy of the name has in view the discovery of truth, and even when it is in the main sceptical, it is so, as we may say, in spite of itself. Philosophy as a discipline must therefore be perfectly free in its method and yet it must be absolutely serious and sincere. How is this philosophic temper to be generated? One method obviously is to bring the mind of the pupil into direct contact with one of the masters of speculation. But to do this in an effective way, it is not enough simply to give a general statement of his doctrine. If the object were merely to enable the student to answer the questions of an examiner, histories of philosophy and lectures on the history of philosophy might be found sufficient; but something more is needed, if the aim is to make men philosophize for themselves. As experience shows, the best way to effect this end is to begin with a first-hand study of some work.

of reasonable length, in which the student has all the materials for forming an independent judgment of his own. This is the method which Dr. Dyde has adopted. The *Theætetus* of Plato is admirably adapted for the purpose in view: it is of moderate length, it raises the fundamental problems connected with the nature of knowledge, and it is a masterpiece of philosophic style. The editor has not only given an admirable translation, but he has prefixed an Introduction, in which Plato's relation to his predecessors and the connexion of the *Theætetus* with the more developed form of Platonic Idealism are brought out clearly and with adequate fulness. It may be safely said that the student who uses this edition of the *Theætetus* in a conscientious way, mastering the contents of the dialogue itself and viewing these in the light thrown upon them by the Introduction, will know more about the spirit of Plato's philosophy, and indeed of all philosophy, than he would obtain by getting up in an external way dozens of books on the history of philosophy.

Dr. Dyde's Introduction shows on every page the extreme care with which he has studied this and other dialogues of Plato, the diligence with which he has read what has been said by his predecessors, and his own faculty for entering sympathetically into the mind of the master. He has admirably described the aim of the Introduction in his Preface. "It seeks to give Plato's portrait, account and criticism of Protagoras and his followers, and at the same time it serves as an outline of one large and important section of Plato's own philosophy. Indeed, owing to Plato's peculiar method, if it succeeds in the first it does the second also. In the closing pages of the Introduction reference is made to the final form of Plato's thought, with the view of indicating how far it was moulded by his long and arduous encounter with Sophistry." The Introduction is so condensed and yet clear that it would be hard to give a summary much shorter than itself. Attention may, however, be drawn to the light which it casts upon the distinction between the doctrine of Protagoras himself as compared with his followers, and to the highly suggestive treatment of the final form of Plato's Idealism. It is not too much to say that in these respects this unassuming little treatise is more suggestive than anything previously done. What is especially admirable in the treatment of the former point is

that the writer effects the separation of the doctrine of Protagoras from that of his followers by showing conclusively that Plato has himself indicated the separation by a difference of phraseology (pp. 22-23). In his account of the final form of Plato's Idealism Dr. Dyde indirectly exhibits the inadequacy of the conventional view ; indeed his short statement is so admirable that one cannot restrain the wish that he may in some future work give us a thorough discussion of the whole philosophy of Plato, a task which he has shown himself to be eminently fitted to perform. It is to be hoped that this edition of the *Theatetus* will come into general use, as it well deserves to do, in all English-speaking colleges.

JOHN WATSON.

A NEW NOVEL.

(*Gilian the Dreamer*. By Neil Munro. Isbister & Co., London.)

THE day of high romance and the grand historical novel seems to be almost done, in the English-speaking world at least. We still have work on those lines from not a not a few practised hands, Marion Crawford, Pakrer and others, work too, which finds a large circle of readers, but we have nothing which can be set for a moment beside the work of the older masters, Scott, or Thackeray, or Sand But in another field, we seem still to have masters, though they may be only 'The Little Masters.' The best of our contemporary novels, have largely the character of local history, a strong flavour of the soil, almost of the parish, very different from the more cosmopolitan art of the older school. The novelist of this type takes his stand on ground which is in the strictest sense native to him, where he is the sole and unique interpreter of local sentiment and character, where his knowledge is of that deep kind which is entwined with the memories of his boyhood and his whole family history. In such a case there is a real work of interpretation and the book which reveals to us some stratum of the national life, stratum not generally known and perhaps fast disappearing under the huge new alluvial deposits of our modern democracy, has something of the value of a historical document in addition to any charm of romance which it possesses. Who

knows how much America owes to Bret Harte for having taught it and the English speaking world generally to see something human and heroically capable in the rough exterior and camp dialect of the Californian miner? Barrie too, who has drawn the village life of the east coast of Scotland with such rare skill and fidelity has deserved well of his country. Thrums is no longer what it was. For years it has been undergoing an insidious change at the hands of school-boards, new young ministers, and summer-visitors. But Barrie's books will always remain to illuminate much in the history, secular and religious, of the Lowland Scot which was dark to the Gentiles. Even Kipling, wide as his range seems to be, is really a sketcher of local character and traditions; only that his parish happens to be the Empire, especially that part of it which is Indian and represented by the bazaar, the bungalow and the barracks, all of which the world now knows as it never could have done but for him who has been their *sacer vates*.

Something of this solid merit belongs to Mr. Munro's book amongst the other merits which it possesses. It is a quite original picture of West Highland life in a small county town, perhaps Inverary (the author's birthplace), as it might be fifty or sixty years ago. That life, we can see, is drawn with the perfect knowledge of one who knows not only its present state and phenomena, but how these grew out of its past states and phenomena. There is a copiousness and ease in his delineations, a novelty and yet a universal truth in his representation of character which show that the writer draws from an inexhaustible first hand stock of impressions. Clearly the author has seen the men and things he paints with the all-seeing eye of boyhood, and there are headstones in "the burial ground of Kilmalieu" carved with the names of his forbears. It is a new world which he pictures for us, one not of much intrinsic importance perhaps, Highland gentility of the small burgh sort, Peninsular veterans, lairds and sheep-farmers with a commonalty in sympathetic relations with them; but he has succeeded in making it intelligible and interesting to us, a very homogeneous little world, essentially modern, yet just at that stage when its roots are still visible reaching away into the feudal or patriarchal past. That is new ground which we hope the author will continue to cultivate with at least not less success than he has done in *Gilian the Dreamer*.

But the main current of the story is psychological, even intensely psychological, being the inward history of Gilian, the dreamer, the artist or poet, a plastic, ultra-sensitive, imaginative nature in whom action is, as in Prince Hamlet, sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. For practical affairs in any form he has the abnormal incapacity found in certain types (not the greater types) of the artist and poet. The sketch of the dreamer's boyhood is very skilful, full of fine insight into the opening sensitivities, the budding poetic and artistic instincts of such a nature. In this part Mr. Munro's work has often a strong flavour of Barrie's manner. The actors, the scenery, the draperies are all new and excellent of their kind, but the play is the same old play. Even the peculiar fondness which Mr. Barrie has for painting the excessive self-consciousness of the young artist nature and its first almost false instinct to study effect rather than truth has left a clear mark on the history of Gilian. The following, for example, might almost be a page out of the history of Sentimental Tommy, if that sublime artist in language (I mean Tommy) had known anything of Gaelic. It is the story of how Gilian brought the news of his foster-mother's death.

But in truth, as he went sobbing in his loneliness, down the river-side, a regard for the manner of his message busied him more than the matter of it. It was not every Friday a boy had a task so momentous, had the chance to come upon households with intelligence so unsettling. They would be sitting about the table, perpsaps, or spinning by the fire, the good wife of Ladyfield still for them a living breathing body, home among her herds, and he would come in among them and in a word bring her to their notice in all death's great monopoly. It was a duty to be done with care if he would avail himself of the whole value of so rare a chance. A mere clod would be for entering with a weeping face, to blurt his secret in shaking sentences, or would let it slip out in an indifferent tone, as one might speak of some common occurrence. But Gilian, as he went, busied himself on how he should convey most tellingly the story he brought down the glen. Should he lead up to his news by gradual steps or give it forth like an alarm? It would be a fine and rare experience to watch them for a little, as they looked and spoke with common cheerfulness, never guessing why he was there, then shock them with the intelligence, but he dare not let them think he felt so little the weightiness of his message that his mind was ready to dwell on trivialities. Should it be in Gaelic or

in English he should tell them? Their first salutations would be in the speech of the glens; it would be, "Oh Gilian, little hero! fair fellow! there you are! sit down and have town bread, and sugar on its butter," and if he followed the usual custom he would answer in the same tongue. But between "*Tha bean Lecknamban air falbh*" and "The wife of Ladyfield is gone," there must be some careful choice. The Gaelic of it was closer on the feelings of the event, the words some way seemed to make plain the emptiness of the farmhouse. When he said them, the people would think all at once of the little brown wrinkled dame, no more to be bustling about the kitchen, of her wheel silent, of her boot no more upon the blue flagstones of the milk-house, of her voice no more in the chamber where they had so often known her hospitality. The English, indeed, when he thought of it with its phrase a mere borrowing from the Gaelic, seemed an affectation. No, it must be in the natural tongue his tidings should be told. He would rap at the door hurriedly, lift the sneck before any response came, go in with his bonnet in his hand, and say "*Tha bean Lecknamban air falbh*" with a great simplicity.

Unfortunately this imaginative literary Gilian, who under happier stars might have been a kind of lion in æsthetic circles, has to grow up in a very incongruous society, where he generally manages to cut an extremely poor figure. His very gifts and graces are misconstrued as faults and weaknesses, and indeed do become so from the total want of compatibility between him and his surroundings. A small Highland town living in the isolation of fifty or sixty years ago, where arts and letters barely exist, where at any rate they do not count as real elements in life, but only as remote, quasi-sacred traditions, represented say by Shakespeare and Macknight's Harmony of the Gospels, traditions to which no sound-minded person has any thought of adding; a home circle made up of veteran officers, old Peninsular heroes, whose one measure of man is that of the soldier; that is a sphere where the shy literary graces of Gilian's spirit, accompanied as they are by a certain external awkwardness, a nervous sensitivity of speech and action, meet with a very poor welcome. What the veterans hoped for in their adopted son was a brisk, prompt, decided young man who would do them credit as a 'soger;' what they have got is, to their scornful amazement, a sublime kind of simpleton, uncannily clever in his mental opera-

tions, but in their stern old eyes that saw the storming of Badajos and the squares at Waterloo, only half a man—and hardly that. The author has treated this situation with the quiet kind of humour which is characteristic of his work, a humour much leavened by pathos and a vein of sentiment which inclines, though not obtrusively, to melancholy. The veterans themselves with their triple distilled pride as Gaels, as Campbells, and as soldiers, are delightful portraits, decidedly fine types of national life which Mr. Munro has rescued from oblivion. They represent the old *duine-wasail* in his first transformation into a “soldier of the queen,” or as it then was, of the king. They are not precisely heroic figures, one of them indeed, the Paymaster, is decidedly unheroic, but about the other two there is a simple, old-fashioned valour, a passionate devotion to the vocation of the sword, which warms their old hearts and gilds with a ray of glory their old, faded, bachelor pensioner lives now wearing to the socket.

Some of the subordinate figures, too, are well worth noting, quite remarkable creations and done, as is often the case in Scott also, with a freer and bolder hand even than the principal characters; Black Duncan, for example, the sailor from Skye; externally, a dark, gloomy-eyed seaman with a mahogany visage and the rude appearance of a coasting skipper; internally, sensitive as a woman and quite as subtle and delicate in his wonderful converse with friends; with a mind, too, as full of fancy and fable as Shakespeare's. “The world,” he says to Gilian, in his grave queer Highland-English, “is a very grand place to such as understand and allow.” Such it certainly is to Duncan, who has the feeling of a poet for its roaring sea-winds and soft dawns, for its Highland traditions and songs, the *Rover* and *Lochaber No More*. A very Celtic world, my masters! in which the note of ideal reverie and sadness is as persistent as the wail of a bagpipe. That national instrument, I believe, is capable of producing merry music; men are said to dance to it; but to my affectionate memory it suggests always two notes only in which I think it perfect and unsurpassable, its note of wailing lament and its note of warlike clangour. That is why I always ask any wandering Highland piper I meet to play *Cha til mi tulidh* (We return no more), but he never understands me. Perhaps in his wanderings he has forgotten his Gaelic.

On the whole there is a fair union of higher elements with solid materials, solid basis of fact or experience in Mr. Munro's book; and a high degree of literary skill is evident in every department of his art. His style, as is generally the case with the psychological school, is singularly refined and select in phrase, while not at all wanting in idiomatic vigour and natural force. At times in passages of eloquent description it is perhaps overwrought, too deeply embroidered with poetic metaphor and similitude and even with occasional preciosities in the use of words after the fashion of the Bibelot school; but on the whole it is an excellent union of strength and grace. In narration too, and the grand art of evolving his story clearly and attractively with its fit apparatus of connections, transitions and resumings, he is no mean master. It is perhaps in dramatic dialogue that he is,—not by any means weak, but not at his best. Something of the racy vigour, that indubitable flavour of reality which belongs to Barrie, is wanting to him here. And yet when I think of the speech of Miss Mary and Black Duncan I waver on this point.

The weak side of the book is the tragic moral failure presented in the career of its hero. The picture of the dreamer in his struggle with a hard uncomprehending world, seemingly adamant, inexpugnable to the shivering young aspirant is one which has its truth, yet as represented in the case of Gilian, it is somewhat morbid and overdone. Gilian's incapacity for action in the common and the critical situations of life alike amounts to positive disease, and towards the end the tale becomes a mere study in pathology. And the evil here is not on the surface but at the very centre. Mr. Munro, like Barrie in his greatest book, is too much inclined to gnaw at his own heart, he puts the interest of his work too exclusively in the dissection of the neuropathic weaknesses of the artistic temperament and in a morbid kind of analysis which traces the power and grace of imaginative art to a weak and even false sensitivity instead of to the strength of a superior truth and directness. It is true that in this lies the difference between the art of a Baudelaire and that of a Wordsworth. I hope that Mr. Munro will in his future works steer clear of a psychology which can certainly promise nothing great, and which has some clear kinship to what in France M. Coppée calls, between a shrug and a sigh, the poison of the decadence.

JAMES CAPPON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Christian Unity. By Rev. HERBERT SYMONDS, M.A. William Briggs, Toronto.

We are glad that Mr. Symonds has put his thoughts about Christian unity into this convenient form. The modest volume now under review consists of six lectures which grew out of what was originally one lecture. The book, however, has not attained its present size by the merely mechanical process of padding, but by a healthy expansion. The lecturer discusses the history and meaning of the movement towards Christian union which has manifested itself in varied ways during recent years, and seeks to relate it to the general features of our recent social and political life. He deals with the difficult question of the true conception of "the Church," and examines in scholarly style and catholic spirit the vexed subject of "the historic episcopate." The reasoning of the book is clear and fair, and its temper is admirable. The effort to magnify the things that are common to all Christian communions and to prepare the way for larger and more cordial co-operation which may lead to a fuller manifestation of visible unity is one with which all intelligent Christians should sympathize, and in this volume they will find the subject viewed in a broad, instructive fashion. We are afraid that many of the hindrances to Christian unity are matters of tradition, habit or prejudice, that do not easily yield to reasoning however clear and cogent, but Mr. Symonds has shown the true Christian temper which is the only atmosphere in which such a subject can be discussed without increasing bitterness instead of decreasing it. The author does not mean by unity the absorption of all other Communions in his own but a union which would preserve the really essential testimony and true individuality of the different churches. He admits that at present this is "an ideal" which does not seem capable of speedy realization but one which may certainly be used to stimulate our faith and increase our charity. Our space does not allow of an examination in detail of the positions taken but we can recommend the book as a whole to those interested in the problems of church life and history. As a specimen of the fairness to which reference has been made we quote these few sensible words on the sin of "Schism," a subject which is often treated in a foolish one-sided way. After saying that in many of the Reformed Churches the idea of "the church sinks into an altogether subordinate place" he adds "on the other hand, Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic are not to be held without responsibility for this view of the visible church. They have regarded the visible as the exact equivalent of the kingdom of heaven, whereas the visible church is the ideal kingdom of

heaven in course of realization but not perfectly realized. The Anglo-Catholic sometimes forgets that the visible church may become corrupted, may depart from the architect's plan, and that protest against corruption if ineffectual must result in Schism and the sin of Schism rests with the corrupt."

A Group of Old Authors. By CLYDE FURST. Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co. \$1.00.

The author in a brief preface explains the evolution of this modest but attractive volume. The five chapters that make up the book "were prepared originally as academic studies, then adapted and used as lectures before popular audiences, and finally recast into their present form;" they represent "an endeavour to add to popular knowledge of older European literature by giving detailed illustrations of its condition at several periods between the sixth and the sixteenth centuries." Mr. Furst, who is a Lecturer for the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, has succeeded in producing a book which is both interesting and instructive. He takes us into the by-paths of history and literature without causing us to be lost in dry details, or bewildering us with too much speculative criticism. The first chapter, which presents the varied career of Dr. John Donne as a gentleman of King James's day, is specially good.

The Arithmetic of Chemistry. By JOHN WADDELL, Ph.D., D.Sc. New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.

Dr. Waddell's book is severely scientific and specialized, and will therefore have little attraction for teachers who fancy that they are physicists or competent to teach Chemistry, because they can astonish a popular audience with experiments that appeal to the eyes and ears; but it will be welcomed by those who take Chemistry seriously and intend to teach it in the same spirit. Already, it is used as a text-book in Yale and Queen's, and in view of the general interest in the subject and the equipment of our best High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, it should certainly find a place in their libraries for the purpose of reference, even though it may be considered too specialized for use as a text-book. Principal Ellis of the Kingston Collegiate Institute, goes farther, and says, "Many years experience of teaching Chemistry has convinced me of the necessity for doing such work as is covered by Dr. Waddell's book." The Director of the School of Mining is to be congratulated on having secured a man of such scientific spirit as instructor in the Quantitative and Qualitative laboratories of the institution.

EARLY RECORDS OF ONTARIO.

(Continued from October number.)

Philip Pember, Isaac Secord and Reuben Beedle having applied to the Magistrates in Sessions,—It is ordered that the Clerk give them a certificate to obtain Licence on filing their recognizance, agreeable to law.¹

[Four cases disposed of.]

A SPECIAL SESSIONS, KINGSTON, MONDAY, 12TH SEPT., 1796.

Present :—Thomas Markland and Wm. Atkinson, Esqrs.

The average price of flour being 20 shillings, it is ordered that the assize of bread for a 4 lb. loaf of fine wheaten flour be 9d., and that a brown loaf, weighing 6 lbs., be 9d. currency. The bakers are ordered to mark their loaves with the initial letters of their names.²

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT KINGSTON, 11TH OCT., 1796.

Present :—Alex. Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson, John Peters, Alex. Chisholm.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read—The sheriff returned the Precept—The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

Elisha Philips, Jacob Ferguson, Peter Detlor, Gilbert Harris, Abram Defoe, Guysbard Sharp, Wm. Rambach, James Cotter, John Richards, Henry Simmonds Foreman, Duncan Bell, John Sharp, Ebenezer Washburn, Luke Carscallen, C. Parker.

¹ Up to 1794 the retailing of liquors had been regulated by an ordinance, of the old Province of Quebec, of 1788. In 1794 this ordinance was repealed by 34th Geo. III. Cap. XII, which required that, after March 20th 1795, no licences to keep public houses for the sale of liquors should be granted to any one who had not obtained from the Magistrates of the Division of the District in which he resided, a certificate of his being a proper person to keep an inn or public house. The Magistrates also determined the number of public houses which might be kept in each District. The applicant on receiving his certificate was required to enter into a bond, or recognizance of £10 for himself, together with two sureties in £5 each, the bond to be filed with the Clerk of the Peace. Having complied with these conditions, the candidate applied to the Provincial Secretary, who issued the necessary licence on payment of the fees appointed. By the act 36th Geo. III. Cap. III, the former act was amended to the extent of permitting an application for certificate to be made to the regular Court of Quarter Sessions. It is in accordance with this amendment that application is made in the above and subsequent cases.

² In the Commission of the Peace under which the Magistrates exercised their powers, the authority to regulate the assize of bread, one of the most ancient of the powers of an English Magistrate, was specifically assigned to the Magistrates of the Midland District.

Wm. Good and John Most constables were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

All persons bound in recognizances were called.

Amos Ainslie, absent. Amos Ainslie, upon a second recognizance, absent. John Campbell, Royal Canadian Volunteers, absent.

Alex. McDonald being set to the Bar, and having informed the Court he had made up the matter for which he was complained against, was discharged by proclamation on his paying the costs of Court.

David Bradshaw was set to the Bar and arraigned upon the indictment found against him last July Sessions at Adolphus Town, C. T. Peters Esq., attorney for defendants, having pleaded several irregularities in the indictment, the Court has taken till to-morrow to consider them. [Was found not guilty.]

It is ordered by the Magistrates in open Sessions assembled that the sum of twenty nine pounds currency be levied from the Counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland for member's wages for 1793.

It is ordered that the sum of twenty five pounds currency be levied from the counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland for member's wages for 1796.

It is likewise ordered that the sum of twenty six pounds currency be levied from the counties of Addington and Ontario for member's wages for 1794. Minute issued.

Kingston, Oct. 12th. The Court met.

Present, the same Justices and Joshua Booth Esq.

Wm. Johnston and John Embree were sworn in as Magistrates.

Henry Simmonds was sworn in as Deputy-Lieut. of the county of Addington.¹

¹ Simcoe, in a despatch to Dundas, the Colonial Secretary, dated Navy Hall, Nov. 4th 1792, states that "In order to promote an Aristocracy, most necessary in this country, I have appointed Lieutenants to the populous counties, which I mean to extend from time to time, and have given to them the recommendatory power for the Militia and Magistrates as is usual in England." (Canadian Archives, Q. 297 I. p. 85.) This was part of Simcoe's plan for the eradication of the Old and New England system of local government, and the substitution of an arbitrary aristocratic local administration. But, the Home Government discouraging this project, the system did not extend beyond the regulation of the Militia, authorized by 33rd Geo. III. Cap. I. The Lieutenants of counties were authorized under this act to nominate Deputy Lieutenants, subject to the approval of the Governor, and appoint the other officers necessary for the command and training of the Militia.

Duncan Bell, Shadrach Huff and Andre Layst, having applied to the Magistrates in open sessions for leave to keep Public Houses of entertainment, and retail spiritous liquors. It is ordered that the Clerk give them each a certificate for obtaining a licence on their filing their recognizances, agreeable to law.

Lieut. Wm. Johnson was called and being set to the Bar was discharged from his recognizance by proclamation, there appearing no prosecution against him.

John Campbell being called, and not appearing, is ordered by the Magistrates that his recognizance escheated in the Court of King's Bench.

[Four other cases disposed of.]

The Court adjourned till Tuesday, 8th November next. Then to meet at the house of James Kemp in Fredericksburg.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD BY ADJOURNMENT AT KEMP'S TAVERN, AT FREDERICKSBURG, NOV. 8TH, 1796.

Present:—Alex. Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Thos. Dorland, Wm. Atkinson, Alex. Chisholm, John Peters, Wm. Johnston, John Embree, Esqrs.

Alex. Clark, Jonathan Miller, and John Howell were sworn in as Magistrates and took their seats.

The Court proceeded to the examination of Rolls of Loyalists delivered from the different Townships and went through the same.

A petition from a number of Freeholders inhabiting the additional lands of Fredericksburg, praying they may be attached to the upper division of the District.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions assembled, that a line be struck between the additional lands of Fredericksburg and the old Township of Fredericksburg and that the inhabitants residing East of said line be liable to be summoned as jurors at Kingston only, and that the inhabitants west of said line be liable to serve as jurors at Adolphus Town only. It is not to be understood this regulation is to extend to the Circuit Court, &c.

Whereas certain regulations were made by the Magistrates in Quarter sessions assembled at Kingston on the ——— day of ———, for the purpose of preventing accidents by fire in the town of Kingston, it is deemed expedient by the Magistrates

now assembled, the better to carry the said purposes into effect, to order that from and after the publication of this order, every householder in the town of Kingston who shall suffer his or her chimney to take fire shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for every time his or her chimney shall take fire, the same to be levied by distress or sale of offender's goods on conviction before any Magistrate on the oath of one credible witness, one half of the said fine to be paid to the informer and the other half to His Majesty his Heirs and Successors.¹

The Court adjourned to Tuesday the 15th day of November then to meet at the town of Kingston.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD BY ADJOURNMENT AT
KINGSTON 15TH NOV'R 1796.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Thos. Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Esqs.

It appears to the Magistrates in Sessions assembled that on the 12th day of Oct last Allan McLean Esq entered into security himself in £500 and Richard Cartwright Esq and Peter Smith £250 each for the said Allen McLean Esq truly and faithfully performing the duty of Register for the Midland District, and that Alex. Fisher, Esq., Peter Vanalstine, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson and John Peters, Esqrs., five of His Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the Peace in the said district, approved of the said security.

It appears to the Magistrates in sessions assembled that on the 12th of October last Mr. John McLeod entered into security himself in £500 and Joseph Forsyth and Thomas Markland £250 each for the said John McLeod truly and faithfully performing the duty of deputy Register for the Midland District, and that Richard Cartwright, Alex. Fisher, Peter Vanalstine, Wm. Atkinson and John Peters, Esq., five of His Majesty's Justices assigned to keep the Peace in the said District, approved of the said security.²

¹ The authority to prescribe regulations for the prevention of fires, like that for determining the assize of bread, &c., came under the general powers of the Magistrates, most of which have since been transferred to the separate municipalities. The previous regulations with reference to fires, here referred to, do not appear on the records of the Court. From the fact that no date could be given for them, it is probable that they had not been formally recorded.

² In 1795 the first Registry Act was passed under the title of "An Act for the public registering of deeds, conveyances, wills and other incumbrances which shall

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN, JAN'Y
24TH, 1797.¹

Present :—Alex. Fisher, Thomas Markland, John Peters, Alex. Clark, Alex. Chisholm, John Blasker, Dan'l Wright, Sam'l Sherwood, Peter VanAlstine, Robt. Clark, Thos. Dorland, Caleb Gilbert, John Hewell, Esq's.

Robt. Young, Augustus Spencer and John Stinson were sworn in as Magistrates and took their seats.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the precept.

The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

John Embury, Foreman ; Wm. R. Bowen, Alex. VanAlstine, Paul Trompeau, C. Hagerman jr, John Haugh, Tobias Myers, Reuben Beagle, Leonard Myers, Willet Casey, Solomon Haugh jr, John McIntosh, M. Ross, Ruloff Ostrum.

Constables were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

John Cook, John Wiss and Ruloff Ostrum are excused from serving as Jurors in future on account of their age.

It is ordered by the Magistrates that the sum of £26 currency be levied by assessment from the Counties of Addington and Ontario for Members Wages for the year 1795, for Joshua Booth, Esq., Member for the said Counties.

Likewise £25 for the said Counties for 1796.

AT A SPECIAL SESSIONS OF THE PEACE, HELD AT KINGSTON THE
18TH MARCH 1797, BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE HIGHWAYS.

Present :—Thomas Markland and Wm. Atkinson, Esqrs.

Received the accounts and lists of the following overseers.

[Rood work appartioned to various overseers.]

be made, or may affect any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within this Province." (35th Geo. III., Cap. V.) Under this Act registers were to be appointed for each District, who might hold other offices as well. On entering upon their duties, they were to be sworn before the Justices of the Peace of their respective Districts, and were to enter into a recognizance with two or more sureties for £1,000. The sureties were to be approved by five or more Justices of the Peace, by writing, under their hands and seals, to be registered at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. Similar conditions were prescribed for the deputy register to be appointed by the register.

¹ By 36th Geo. III., Cap. IV., the time for holding the Quarter Sessions of the Midland District was changed from the second to the fourth Tuesday of January and April.

KINGSTON, 25TH APRIL, 1797. QUARTER SESSIONS HELD
THIS DAY.

Present :—Alex. Fisher, Thomas Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Joshua Booth and Robert Clark, Esqrs.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the precept.

The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

Jos. Forsyth, Foreman ; P. Smith, B. Seymour, Wm. Robins, Jas. Anderson, D. Brass, R. Wilkins, J. Frazer, J. Hawley, P. Grass, N. Herkimer, S. McKay, J. Carscallen, J. Richards, S. Hawley.

Wm. Ashley and M. Dederick, Constables, were sworn to attend the Grand Jury.

APRIL 26TH.

Present :—The same Justices and Peter VanAlstine and Alex. Clark, Esqrs.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled ordered that a full rate be levied on the inhabitants of this District for the ensuing year.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled recommend Joseph Anderson of Kingston and Alexander VanAlstine of Adolphus Town, as proper persons to be appointed Coroners for this District.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled order that the sum of £11 6 3 be paid by the Treasurer to Mr. R. Q. Short, being so much of his account allowed for his attendance on Terence Dunn.

Also the sum of £2 10 to Daniel Wright, Esq., being so much expended by him for Ann Merritt on account of the District.

Also the sum of £7 2 3½ to Mr. Jos. Anderson, being the amount of his account as Church Warden.

Also the sum of £1 10 to the widow Angus Taylor being so much of her account allowed for boarding Terence Dunn.

Also the sum of £10 5 to John Cannon being, the amount of his two accounts.

Also the sum of £6 1 8 to Philip Swick, being the amount of his account for Boarding David Vanderheyden.¹

¹ These various accounts are connected with the relief of the poor of the District.

Also the sum of £20 3 to Poole England, being the balance of his account as Clerk of the Peace allowed.

Also the sum of £0 15 to Sheldon Hawley as Town Clerk of Ernest Town for the year 1797.

Also the sum of £0 15 to Wm. Bell as Town Clerk of Fredericksburg for 1797.

Also the sum of £0 10 to Arch. Campbell as Town Clerk for Adolphus Town for 1797.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions assembled that John Ferguson be not assessed in the Township of Kingston for the year 1796, as it appears to them that he had no property in the Township at that time and that he was assessed in the Township of Sidney.

On the petition of Andrew Loyst the Magistrates are pleased to allow him to keep an inn and house of public entertainment in the Township of Fredericksburg.

The Magistrates in Session assembled examined the Treasurer's accounts, which being approved of are ordered to be filed in the Clerk of the Peace's office.

Constables appointed for the year 1797—

Addington—D. Williams sen'r, Barnabas Huff.

Amherst—Colin McKenzie sen'r.

Thurlow—Jos. Walker.

Lower Part of Marysburys—Jas. Gerolomy, Wm. Harrison Jun'r.

Adolphus Town—Sam'l Brock, Jas. Cuniff.

Kingston—Jas. Dawson, Alex. McDonald.

Township of Kingston—Micajah Purdy, John Hominy.

Pittsburg—John Milton Sen'r.

Fredericksburg—Jacob Finkle, Jos. Kemp, Geo. Sills, Thos Richeson.

Richmond—Lambert Vanalstine.

ADOLPHUS TOWN JULY 11TH 1797. QUARTER SESSIONS HELD
THIS DAY.

Present :—Alex. Fisher, P. VanAlstine, T. Dorland, M. Pruyn, J. Peters, D. Wright, A. Chisholm, J. Miller, Esqs.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read. The sheriff returned the precept. The Grand Jury were called and sworn.

John Cuniff, foreman, D. Conger, T. Goldsmith, W. Smith, J. Ferguson, A. Campbell, W. Harrison, A. Maybe, C. Vanhorn, W. More, P. Huff, B. Clap, W. Hale, M. Slot, S. Huff sr., S. Conger, A. Defoe, J. Wright, W. Ross.

JULY 12TH.

Daniel Frazer, Esq., was sworn in as a Magistrate.

The Magistrates in Sessions assembled directed that the Township of Marysburg should be a division by itself, for the purpose of holding Courts of Request, and that the Townships of Sophiasburg and Ameliasburg, jointly, should form a division, and that the Magistrates within those Townships should preside in those Courts.¹

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, KINGSTON, 10TH OCT. 1797.

Present :—R. Cartwright, J. Peters, A. Fisher, A. McDonell, J. Booth, Wm. Atkinson, T. Markland, Esqrs.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read.

The Sheriff returned the precept.

R. Macaulay, Foreman ; J. Cumming, W. Robins, J. Russel, J. Franklin jr, J. Caldwell, J. Fraser, P. Daly, F. Prime, J. Miller, M. Clarke, S. McKay, H. Simmons, W. Cottier, P. Grass, S. Hawley, D. Hawley, R. Wilkins, A. McGuin, Geo. Murdoff.

The Magistrates in Sessions fined the following Constables Twenty Shillings each for non-attendance :—M. Purdy, T. Miller, C. McKenzie, J. Finkle, B. Huff.

OCT. 12TH.

[The following sentence was given for petit larceny.]

The Court sentence Wm. Newberry and Caleb Williams to receive each Forty lashes, at the public whipping post in Kingston, on their bare backs.

[For misdemeanour.]

The Court sentence Nicholas Tudor to sit in the stocks for two hours.

It is ordered that the sum of Twenty-Two Pounds Ten Shillings be levied from the County of Prince Edward and the Township of Adolphus in the County of Lenox, for the payment of member's wages.

¹ This alters the arrangement made by the Court on April 10th, 1794.

• CURRENT EVENTS.

THREE months ago the Transvaal issued the ultimatum, with its "forty-eight hours' notice to quit," which preceded the invasion of Natal, Bechuanaland and Cape Colony, and it is safe to say that both parties are disappointed with the results so far. The Boers, knowing that they could mobilize their forces and march with a facility that no other army in the world can equal, expected to be in Durban before this, and to have as prisoners of war General White's command and the garrisons of Mafeking and Kimberley. The British expected that General Buller would have eaten his Christmas dinner in Pretoria, or at any rate would have gained admission to the enemy's country at some point or other. It is not wonderful that the Boers miscalculated. We have heard so much about their ignorance, their conceit, and their contempt for the "rooineks," that we ought to be prepared for one or two delusions on their part. But who was prepared for the ignorance of the London press and of the well-informed British public! Even Commander-in-chief, Lord Wolseley, at one time styled "Britain's only general," naively confesses that his eyes have been opened. Similar confessions would be much more in order from the newspapers which did their best, while negotiations were going on, to fan the flame of popular passion to fever heat. They marvelled every day at their own patience and magnanimity, and at the criminal forbearance of the Government, which at a word could blot out the two puny Republics from the map of the world. Scarcely had the war began when they plunged into the discussion of what was to be done with the wolf's skin when the animal was killed! Why not? Had not that great "Empire-builder," Cecil Rhodes, declared that there would be no war, if only Mr. Chamberlain took a firm tone, or that if it did begin, the first fight in which a score or two of the burghers were killed would be the end of it? Had not our own "Bystander" said that when the first Canadian contingent landed in Capetown, they would find the war over? Evidently, the wisest may make mistakes. In 1861, when Fort Sumter was fired on, did not President Lincoln call on the North to give him 75,000 volunteers, for three months, to make an end of the South! And which of President McKinley's cabinet dreamed of the struggle in Luzon lasting for a year!

To any one who knows the condition of South Africa, from within, the present war is heart-breaking. It is a fight to the finish between two ideals of life, which with patience and states-

manship might have existed side by side until they insensibly blended into a higher national unity. Faults there were on both sides, owing chiefly to racial peculiarities, but war will acerbate these, and as the real problem in South Africa is not the relation of Boer to Briton, but of white to black, the prospect for the future is as gloomy as it can well be. The comfort we take to our souls, while the conflict rages, is not only that the British ideal of civilization is the higher as well as in accordance with modern political principles, but that the appeal from moral forces to the God of battles was made not by us but by the Government and people of the Transvaal. They allege, it is true, that they did not make their appeal to force, until we had clearly shown our purpose to gather an irresistible army on their borders. None the less, it was their duty to trust to the reason and conscience of the British people, who would never have sanctioned a war of aggression upon them. They were utterly without warrant in staking the independence of their country on the hazard of a war against overwhelming odds, as long as any hope for peace remained. How much hope existed, even in the month of October, they could not possibly know, till the Imperial Parliament met. Declining to wait for its meeting, they issued an ultimatum, which rejoiced their enemies, silenced their friends, and rallied to the support of the Government every man in the British Empire who cared for its honour. Their mistake was irreparable. Who was responsible for it, we cannot tell. Some say that Dr. Leyds misled them with hopes of foreign intervention, if they gained striking successes at the outset. But even if Dr. Leyds were Mephistopheles and Macchiavelli combined, as his enemies allege, Kruger has a will of his own and so has his Secretary of State. Generals Joubert and Cronje and the burghers with scarce an exception, as far as we know, gave their voices for war; and there can be no doubt that the active support of the Orange Free State, and the knowledge that their kinsfolk in the Old Colony sympathized with them, whereas they had ranged themselves in active opposition on the question of the "Drifts" and other disputed matters in previous years, made the Transvaalers feel that they had a fighting chance. Some indeed maintain that President Steyn is the real author of the war; and that his ambition is to be Kruger's successor, as the head of a Dutch South Africa. Others throw the responsibility on Hofmyr and the Afrikander Bond; but these consist chiefly of Englishmen who know nothing of the real state of the case and who fancy that to be Afrikander is to be disloyal. They might as well consider us disloyal, when we say that we are Canadians first of all; or Australians when they say, as they one and all do say emphatically, that they are Australians before everything else. But the fact is that at present no one, outside of Mr. Kruger's innermost

circle, can tell with authority who is responsible for the substance or the form of the ultimatum. It is not of much consequence for us to know; the important point is that the Boers stood and stand by it, and until they acknowledge themselves beaten, discussion of old issues is a waste of time and strength.

The most important question for us to ask is, will there be foreign intervention? Unless the unexpected happens, there will not. France would like well to give us a Roland for our Fashoda Oliver; but without Russia she will not move; and though Russia would have no objection to make trouble, she will not; for she never acts on impulse, but on considerations of far-reaching policy. She is not ready. War would at once bring into the field against her in the East the formidable army and navy of Japan, and all that she has been preparing the way for there would be endangered. If Germany were willing to join a great continental alliance, the temptation might be irresistible; but though Germany is more incensed against Britain at present than even France or Russia, so far as we can judge from the press, it looks like a case of blowing off steam rather than of resolute purpose to provoke a quarrel. The Kaiser controls the foreign policy of his country, and he understands the plain facts of the situation perfectly well. Our Empire would fight all three Powers rather than tolerate interference. The British fleet could give a good account of the combined fleets; and the hostile coalition would bring about what Europe dreads most, an alliance of the English-speaking peoples that would never be broken. Very different would the situation have been but for the war between the United States and Spain. That revealed to the man on the street the truth regarding his national isolation, and his real danger had Britain been hostile or even indifferent; and the claims of blood, of descent, of common interest, and common moral aims, ideals and hopes can now exert their legitimate influence. The price paid for such a result was by no means great; for apparently there is no other way but war by which facts can be made to stand out clear to the vision of the common people.

Few members of the Parliament of Canada fancied that they were sharing in the responsibility of war, when they passed resolutions last August, taking sides in the controversy between Britain and the Transvaal. They passed them as lightly as they had passed another in favour of a separate Parliament for Ireland. What that would have meant is abundantly clear now. In both cases they considered that they were exerting only "moral pressure;" but if our moral pressure has any force at all, and it would be an impertinence to say that a unanimous vote of the Parliament of Canada means nothing,

Will other Powers interfere?
Canada's share in the war.

then we committed ourselves to active participation in war, should that result, without the slightest discussion on the issues or on the supreme question of the principles according to which Canada should contribute to the war power of the Empire. That was surely unwise; and it is no wonder that the London *Economist*, sanest of all the British weeklies, deprecated our action and hinted that though our "members no doubt wished to show their affection for the Mother Country, they might perhaps be more usefully engaged in attending to Canadian business!" The *Economist* had some right to consider the resolutions as only rhetorical fireworks; but when Mr. Chamberlain informed us, three months later, that a Canadian force of 500 men (infantry preferred, save the mark!) would be an acceptable contribution, it was impossible to decline; and the Government acted rightly in sending double the number and offering as many more. The constitutional course would have been to summon a special session of Parliament before taking action; but that would have seemed ungracious, as he who gives quickly gives twice, and in view of the resolutions passed unanimously on the merits of the case it would have been an expensive and laborious superfluity. None the less, Canada has been stampeded into a war that it has never discussed, instead of entering upon it, like the people of the United Kingdom, with calmness and dignity and due regard to Parliamentary government; and when any one tried to raise the question of constitutional procedure, he was screamed at as disloyal, even though—as in the case of Mr. Tarte—he had been an earnest member of the Imperial Federation League, when those who are now among the loudest shouters sneered or kept aloof, because they were not sure which side of the fence was likely to be popular. Our national self-respect is lowered by dealing with the supreme and awful question of Peace or War in this tumultuous fashion. Other questions may be rushed in the same way; and liberty itself is imperilled. Already we see some of the baneful results. One school-board makes public inquiry into the conduct of a teacher, who before the war prescribed to his pupils as the subject of an essay the South African controversy, along with a calm statement of the points at issue. Another board dismisses the principal of the public school for giving expression to his opinions on the subject. City fathers call a meeting to censure their mayor because he prayed that Her Majesty might have, among other blessings of the year, "peace with honour," just what the Queen prays for everyday, in common with all good women and all men who are not savages! If there is one thing more than another which a free people must preserve as the indispensable price of freedom, it is liberty of speech, and that means not liberty to echo the cries of the hour—any harsh-voiced parrot can do that

loudly enough—but liberty to dissent and to set forth with all the fulness and force that may be in the man his reasons for dissent. Think of the sermons we preached last year to the people of France because they listened impatiently to “the intellectuals” who spoke out for Dreyfus! Let us take some of our own medicine. It will do ourselves good, though poor stuff for others. Now that our participation in the present war has been settled by the logic of events, generally the way of introducing changes into the British Constitution, it remains to be determined to what extent we ought to offer contributions to the Imperial authorities? Is there any principle to guide us? This is the immediate practical question. For it is clear that the present is not the time to ask for a constitutional *quid pro quo*, in the form of a partnership in Imperial affairs with the Mother Country. That cannot even be discussed till the war is over, and perhaps all that need be said on the immediate question before us is that the more hearty and thorough-going our action now, the better our position shall be when readjustment of our political relations comes up for consideration. We have unmis-takeably taken the position that the Empire is one, and that Britain’s quarrel in South Africa is our quarrel. We must not fold our hands when the second contingent has sailed. The war must be pressed to a speedy conclusion, and we must prepare to assist in applying the needed pressure. The best, because most direct, steps for us to take next would be to release the two Imperial battalions now doing garrison duty in Halifax and the West Indies, by supplying their places with militia from the Maritime Provinces; and to proceed at once with the organization of the Regiment of Mounted Rifles in the North-West, advocated in General Hutton’s report last year, generally approved at the time, and now seen to be the arm in which we are most deficient, as well as the one which is most needed in fighting with a people who are all “cowboys” and fairly good shots as well. What has been done, and what must still be done, means expenditure on our part, but having given our boys to the war, we have taken the leap, and compared to their lives money is the small dust of the balance. We aspire to be a nation, and how can we realise that high ideal save by doing the work and submitting to the sacrifices demanded by national life? The hour has come, and with it our responsibility. We have accepted it in the illogical and blundering way that is characteristic of our race, but there can be no doubt about our sincerity, and that is the main point for statesmen to recognize.

It is scarcely necessary to refer to another step which the Government will surely take at the fit moment. Hitherto they have acted in concert with the Imperial authorities, who arranged to defray all expenses of our contingents from the day of

their disembarkation at Capetown. That was all right. It would be as absurd to have different paymasters and different rates of pay for the men on the field as it would be to have different modes of transport, commissariat or generals. None the less it should be understood that a vote will be taken at the proper time to repay the Imperial Government all that they spend on our forces, and another vote to pay the men who return to us at a rate corresponding to what would be received for service in Canada. The price of labour is higher here than in Britain, and our boys who have volunteered for the country must not be skimped in their pay or in anything else. It would be scarcely necessary to refer to this, were it not for the almost incredible fact that because Sir Charles Tupper has said that he would support a vote to that effect, some of his organs are already taunting the Government that they will have to do it, but that all the credit will belong to the Opposition leader. He was by no means the first to make the suggestion; but even if he had been, it required no brilliant or original stroke of genius to give utterance to the happy thought. Evidently, members of the Government are not free to give expression to it or to any other of their inspirations on the subject till the House meets. In Great Britain, party warfare is suspended when the country is engaged in deadly conflict. Support the Government, in order that it may prosecute the war to a successful issue, is the universal cry of the British public, and any party that disregarded the universal sentiment would not be easily forgiven. This noble tradition is even more imperative in our case than in the Mother Country. Our national life is in the making; and it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that it is composed of different strands which have not yet been completely woven together. It takes a long time to build a national structure; and the greater the variety in the materials the longer the time needed, though as a compensation the more beautiful will the structure eventually be. Every statesman recognizes our condition and what it imposes on us. He will therefore refuse his consent to every disintegrating cry or policy, knowing well that it will bring curses that may come home to roost to his own embarrassment and to the peril of the country; and he will also publicly warn the baser elements among his followers that in hitting below the belt they are imperilling their own chances with an electorate, which pardons much, but will never pardon attempts to make party capital at the expense of the national honour or at risk to the nation's life. Instead of wondering that French-speaking Canadians are not as enthusiastic in this war as their English-speaking countrymen, the marvel is that their representative men have as a rule spoken so warmly on behalf of the Empire, and that so few protests have been made against the flagrant violation of the Constitution in-

volved in sending the Contingents without sanction of Parliament. The practical unanimity of Canadians in endorsing the new departure is gratifying to every one who believes in the unity of the Empire, and no word should be said that would lessen in the eyes of the world its dignity and significance.

Far too much has been made of our reverses. The total number of killed, wounded and missing for the three months does not amount to one-fourth of the number lost at any of the great battles from Cressy to Gettysburg. Did we expect unbroken successes against a race whose mettle we had good cause to know from the 17th century down to Majuba? Considering that we have been outnumbered till now, the record is pretty fair. Talana and Elands-laaghte were victories. Methuen drove Cronje from three chosen positions before he was arrested for a time at Magersfontein. Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith have held out against heavy odds. The Boers have had to put every man and horse in the field and they have no reserves. Mistakes, of course, have been made, and doubtless the strategists who scan the bulletin boards would not have made any, had the War Office sent them, instead of men like Buller, Clery, French and Baden-Powell. But, as wars go, we need not cry out yet, nor seek for occult reasons of special divine displeasure. A divine, eminent by his position, preaches that if Britain had no "rum traffic" or opium business she would have had no reverses. In that case, Boers, who know nothing of opium, would have been killed, instead of the gallant fellows who had nothing to do with the rum traffic! The question has been asked, "Why do not men go to church?" and it might be answered, "Why should they, if they must listen silently to crude paganism?" Our Lord, it is true, denounced doom on Jerusalem, but why? Religious insincerity and blatant pretension, priestly arrogance and greed, censoriousness, spiritual pride, religiosity and internal uncleanness, these were the sins which He denounced and against which we must be ever on our guard.

The war makes such demands on our attention that we have no time to spare for events occurring elsewhere than in South Africa. It is a Presidential year in the States, but no one asks what the rival parties are doing, or whether there is any prospect of the Democrats ridding themselves of Bryan and his precious silver craze. The Philippines might be sunk in the sea for all that the world cares at present. The war there is still sputtering on. It is enough to know that. Even the victory gained by Sir F. Wingate, in which the once-dreaded Khalifa died heroically, surrounded by his Emirs, was simply recorded, and in the next day's papers no reference was made to it, though the subject lent itself well to homilies. We

Events in
other
countries.

are not quite sure whether Italy is still a member of the Dreibund, or whether anarchy reigns in the Austrian Parliament, or the Parliament is sitting. The Emperor Joseph still lives and the dual monarchy will worry one somehow as long as he is on the throne. There are rumours about Russian designs on Persia and Afghanistan, but no person's pulse is stirred. Two countries beside our own still excite a languid interest—France and Germany. France generally gives us the unexpected. A revolution was promised in connection with the Dreyfus case, or at the very least the defeat of the ministry which ordered his second trial and saw the affair through; but the *QUARTERLY* never gave credence to the predictions, and never despaired of France. Writers for the British press seldom do justice to France, and they are astonished that the Paris papers should pay them back in kind. France has astonishing staying and recuperative power, and the support given to her present strangely composite ministry shows how well able she is to recover herself at the last moment. The Premier keeps his team well in hand. The Foreign Minister tells the Chambers that the British fleet is superior to theirs at every point and in every respect, and consequently that it is idle and undignified to bluster. Instead of raging at him for his frankness, the Government's majority is at once increased. The Minister of War goes on quietly with his policy of making the army subordinate to the civil authority and of suppressing the enemies of order, and in a city supposed to be honey-combed with disaffection no one cheeps. What a lesson for politicians everywhere that nothing pays like fearless discharge of duty! No one need keep away from the Exhibition, for fear of "the red foot fury of the Seine."

The Kaiser is determined to have a fleet that will permit him to shake his mailed fist wherever he pleases, and though his wisest subjects disapprove, he is likely to get it. It seems madness to impose new burdens on a people who are as much compelled to have the finest army in the world, as Great Britain to have the finest fleet; but there is continuity as well as method in his madness. Britain need not object; for the more successful he is the more necessary will it be for him not to quarrel with the Mistress of the Seas. Whether he sees in the future an occupation of part of South America or of Syria and the Euphrates valley, so that Germany may colonize over seas without losing her overspill to rival powers, need not affect us, otherwise than to wish him well in either case. It would be a clear gain to the world, certainly, to have a German Dominion established in the East; and it is gain to humanity about which we are concerned and not any mad idea of painting all the earth red. Russia might object, but that is her look-out. So far as her ambitions are legitimate, we can wish her, too, all success. G.

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GNOSTIC THEOLOGY.

“THERE is a body of men,” says Irenaeus, “who deny the truth, putting in its place fables and vain genealogies, which, as the Apostle says, ‘minister questionings, rather than godly edifying, which is in faith.’* By specious and crafty suggestions they mislead and enslave the simple-minded. They wickedly pervert the good words of Scripture, which they handle deceitfully. They destroy the faith of many, leading them astray by the pretence of ‘knowledge’ (γνῶσις) from Him who has established and adorned the universe, claiming to reveal something higher and greater than God, the creator of heaven and earth, and all that is therein. By their sophistry and rhetorical arts they indoctrinate the unwary in their method of questioning, and destroy their souls by absurd, blasphemous and impious doctrines, so that their victims are unable even to detect the falsehood of so gross a fiction as that of the Demiurge.”†

These words, with which Irenaeus opens his *Refutation of Heresy*, indicate the main features of the Gnostic sects as they existed in the second century. Their theology was not set forth in a reasoned and connected system, but was embedded in a fantastic cosmogony; their exegesis was of that artificial character with which our study of Philo has made us familiar; they claimed to be in possession of an esoteric doctrine or Gnosis, revealed only to the initiated; and between the Supreme Being and the world they interposed a number of spiritual Powers or Aeons, attributing the creation of the visible universe to a subordinate agent, the Demiurge. That a doctrine of this kind was inconsistent with the fundamental ideas of Christian theology,

* 1 Tim. i. 4.

† Irenaeus, *Refutation of Heresy*, Pref., §. 1.

and in practice led to either an antinomian license or to asceticism, is also true; and therefore we cannot but sympathize with the zeal of the Bishop of Lyons, when he warns his flock against these 'wolves in sheep's clothing,' as he does not hesitate to call them. But while it is true that Gnosticism was fantastic in form, arbitrary in the interpretation of Scripture, full of intellectual arrogance, and dualistic in content, it was not, at least in its main representatives, either so unchristian or so irrational as Irenaeus alleges, nor can it be fairly stigmatised as a deliberate and wicked perversion of the "truth once delivered to the saints." When the Gnostics wrote there was no fixed body of Christian doctrine of which the Church was the custodian, and therefore no "heresy" in the later sense of deviation from the Catholic faith. Even in the age of Irenaeus the dogmas of the Church were still in process of formation, and, judged by the standard of the Nicene Creed, Irenaeus himself must be pronounced heretical. The Church afterwards accepted as orthodox those writers of the first and second centuries who employed speculation as a means of spiritualizing the Old Testament, without carrying their speculation so far as to construct a complete system, while it branded as heretical those thinkers who, employing the same method, aimed at completeness and reached conclusions at variance with later Catholic doctrine. Both classes of thinkers were under the influence of Greek ideas and Greek modes of thought, and both were trying to convert Christian faith into a philosophy of religion. In attempting to estimate the strength and weakness of Gnosticism we must discard the idea that it was a perversion of accepted doctrine, and view it as an honest attempt to show that Christianity was the ultimate and universal religion. The aberrations of the Gnostics were the natural and inevitable result of the acceptance of the Christian faith by men whose minds were already filled with Greek ideas of life, and who felt the need of harmonizing the knowledge they already believed themselves to possess with the new revelation. The Christian faith as proclaimed by our Lord involved a higher conception of the relations of God and man than that which had been reached even by the later Hebrew prophets, but its universal spirit was not yet freed from features due to its Jewish origin. The consequence was that by the primitive Jewish community of Christians it was held in a form which was coloured by tradi-

tional modes of thought. The main struggle of the Apostolic age was to liberate the spirit of Christianity from the natural preconceptions of its Jewish adherents,—a work which was begun by St. Paul and carried out by the writer of the Fourth Gospel.* But the process could not stop here. Even in the Apostolic age, Christianity found itself confronted with believers who brought to it preconceptions derived originally from Babylonian, Persian and other oriental sources, and the danger which it had already experienced of losing its universality from the survival of Jewish beliefs, threatened it from this new source. Evidences of this conflict meet us in the New Testament itself, especially in the Epistle to the Colossians and the Revelation of St. John. A new danger emerged when Christianity was embraced by men who had been trained in the Hellenic philosophy of Alexandria. To this class belonged the great Gnostics of the second century, who attempted to reconcile Jewish, Oriental, Greek and Christian ideas, mainly by weapons borrowed from Greek philosophy. Their syncretistic method could not possibly yield a satisfactory philosophy of religion, but they must get the credit of forcing the problem to the front, and doing their best to solve it. While, therefore, we do justice to writers like Irenaeus, who instinctively revolted against the dualism by which Gnosticism was largely infected, we must not forget that but for the Gnostics a Christian philosophy of religion would have been impossible. Grant to Irenaeus what he never doubts for a moment, that the conception of Christianity held by the majority of the Churches in his day was identical with the faith of our Lord and His disciples, and that the salvation of man depended upon its implicit acceptance, and we can understand why he was unable to account for its rejection by honest and fair-minded men except on the hypothesis that they were perverse and wicked sophists.† The Gnostics he therefore pictured to himself as a class of men who wilfully and sinfully rejected the truth, but, with a malignant ingenuity, sought to destroy the souls of their simple-minded dupes. Instead of accepting the plain sense of scripture, they constructed a colossal edifice of speculation, which only tended to overlay and obscure the gospel. All such speculations seemed to Irenaeus reprehensible, not merely be-

*The writer of the Fourth Gospel has in his mind Alexandrian Judaism.

†To Justin Martyr Gnosticism is the work of daemons.

cause they would not bear criticism, but because they *were* speculations. It is true that the Gnostics pretended to find their doctrines in scripture ; but this was, to his mind, merely a pretext to conceal the real character of their doctrine. Their object was to destroy the souls of men, and the elaborate rhetorical arts by which they sought to effect their evil purpose were only a cloak for their perversity and wickedness. Who but wicked men would dethrone God and put in His place their absurd conception of the Demiurge? Having formed such an image of the Gnostics, it is not surprising that the shrewd but unspeculative Bishop was unable to take a fair and judicial view of their doctrines.

Now, of course no blame can be attached to Irenaeus for his vigorous polemic against the Gnostics. The view that all speculation on divine things is hurtful is not so unknown in our own day that we should be surprised to find it in a Bishop of the Second Century, whose main interest was in the saving of souls, a task for which he was eminently qualified by his zeal and strong practical sense. But, while this is true, it is just as undeniable that his temper was of the hard and limited type which made it impossible for him to appreciate the efforts of more reflective minds to bring the principles of the Christian faith into connexion with a comprehensive theory of the world. The experience of eighteen centuries has taught us to view the movements of the early centuries in their relation to the past and the future ; we now recognize that, while Christianity is based upon a universal principle, that principle is not capable of being imprisoned in a few simple truths, but, just because it is a living thing, must be enriched by all the elements with which it comes in contact. To identify Christianity with its first simple form, and reject its later developments merely because they are later, is as unjustifiable as to prefer the germ to the full-grown plant. We must, therefore, approach the study of Gnosticism with the object of discovering how far, in the wild whirl of conflicting ideas—Jewish, Syrian, Babylonian, Persian and Greek—which was characteristic of the age in which it appeared, it prepared the way for a more perfect system of theology than itself. We are in no danger of becoming Gnostics of the fantastic type which flourished in the early centuries of our era, but we may be in danger of coming under the influence of its modern represent-

atives; and in any case, it will do us no harm to study impartially the early struggle of Christian men to 'give a reason for the faith that was in them.' The vagaries of Gnostic speculation are at first sight strange and almost inexplicable, and, indeed, no human being but a philosophical Dryasdust can now take the least interest in the details, some of them absurd in the extreme, of their multifarious systems. I do not, however, propose to burden you with these details further than is necessary: it will be enough to deal with the more important developments of this early phase of theological speculation, in their relation to the main current of doctrine, which gradually gained for itself the sanction of the Church.

The term "Gnosticism" is sometimes used in a wider, sometimes in a narrower sense. A recent writer tells us that "Gnosticism is a religious movement which is characterised by a seeking for Gnosis or enlightenment for the purpose of finding salvation."* Taken in this sense Gnosticism is older than Christianity, and may be said to make its appearance with the Essenes, who can be traced back to the second century before the Christian era.† In the more restricted sense of the term, however, Gnosticism is an early form of Christianity, which makes its appearance even in the Apostolic Age, but only becomes a clearly marked method of thought in the Second Century, under the influence of Hellenic philosophy. Our subject is Gnosticism in this second and generally accepted sense, and it will be convenient to consider it in three successive phases, as it presents itself in the first, second and third centuries respectively. These three phases may also be characterized as, Judaic, Hellenic and Syriac Gnosticism. It will still further simplify matters, if we set aside a number of systems or views which have one or more features in common with the main Gnostic systems, but which had little or no influence upon the general current of theological speculation. I shall therefore simply mention these shortly, without further entering into them.

First of all we have the *Encratites*, who attached supreme importance to the ascetic life, for which they claimed the example of Christ. Next may be mentioned the *Docetists*, who drew

*Carus in the *Monist* for July, 1898, p. 502.

†For a valuable account of the Essenes, see Lightfoot's *Colossians and Philemon*, pp. 83-93.

their ideas from writings in which it was denied that Christ was a real man, their view being that he was a heavenly spirit with a phantasmal body. Then we have, thirdly, the *Carpocratians*, whose doctrine was based upon a literal interpretation of the Platonic idea of reminiscence (*ἀνάμνησις*) and the pre-existence of souls. The world, on their view, is not the work of God, but of inferior spirits; and the true Gnosis is attained by those who are able to recall the ideas which they had in a pre-existent state, and are thus favored with the vision of the Supreme Unity. The superiority of Jesus over other men they attributed to the unusual strength of his 'reminiscence' and the consequent spiritual excellence and power to which he thus attained. There seems little doubt that some members of this sect fell into theoretical and practical Antinomianism, the speculative basis of their doctrine, as attributed to Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates, being that external actions do not affect the spirit and are therefore morally indifferent. In any case the Carpocratians adopted the Communism suggested in the Republic of Plato. Jesus they honored as the greatest philosopher, setting up his statue side by side with the statues of Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle. Besides these sects there were a number of adventurers—magicians, prophesiers, and alchemists,—who affected the usual jargon of their tribe, and employed magical incantations as a means of duping the public and robbing women of their honour. In contrast to these extreme sects, which were Pagan rather than Christian, there was also a variety of sects which only differed slightly from the Christianity of ordinary believers. Having thus cleared the way, we may go on to consider Gnosticism in its first phase or Judaic Gnosticism.

I. JUDAIC GNOSTICISM.

The most palpable traces of this earliest form of Christian Gnosticism are found in the epistle to the Colossians.* The Apostle warns the Christian not to be misled by the false teachers who threatened to destroy the purity of Christian faith and practice. These teachers insisted upon the observance of Sabbaths and new moons, upon the distinction of meats and drinks, and apparently upon the initiatory rite of circumcision. This, of course, indicates that they were Jews, who had found their

*Col. ii. 4, 8, 18, 23.

homes in the valley of the Lycus, and were unable to free themselves from their faith in Jewish observances and ritual. But they were not Jews of the ordinary type, as we immediately see from the epistle, for the Apostle goes on to mention three features which are not Jewish, but Gnostic. In the first place these Jewish-Christians plumed themselves upon a hidden wisdom and exclusive mysteries, and claimed the special illumination of a privileged class. Knowing, as we do, the Apostle's universalism, it is not difficult to understand his vigorous protest against this new particularism. Just as he had in earlier epistles given no quarter to *national* exclusiveness, so he now denounces this new enemy, *intellectual* exclusiveness. The true Gnosis, as he insists, is no 'mystery,' revealed only to a privileged few, but is open to all men who have faith in Christ. The false teachers set up a 'philosophy' which he characterizes as an 'empty deceit' based upon 'sophistry.*' The 'wisdom' to which they lay claim might deceive many, but it was not the 'wisdom' of the Gospel. The rites of initiation which they practised were diametrically opposed to the one universal 'mystery,' the knowledge of God in Christ, which, as he declares, contained 'all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden in it.†' Here is no 'mystery,' revealed only to a few, but an 'open secret,' manifest to all who are not prevented by waywardness and disobedience from receiving it. Secondly, the Apostle objects to the cosmology and theology of the false teachers. It is implied that they attributed the work of creation to angels, instead of to the one Eternal Son, the Word of God, 'through whom and to whom all things have been created.' St. Paul also stigmatizes the worship of angels as a false 'humility,' which is wrong in principle. The idea that man may mount to God by the ladder of intermediate beings is mere sophistry, and is subversive of the mediatorial work of Christ. In Christ dwells the 'fulness' (*πλήρωμα*) of God, and through Him alone it is communicated to man. Thirdly, the Apostle objects to the *asceticism* of the false teachers, which was advocated by them as a means of 'checking the indulgence of the flesh.‡' This end it entirely failed to accomplish, and he maintains that the true remedy consists in spiritualizing the passions by a living faith—by dying

*Col. ii. 4.

†Col. ii. 2.

‡Col. ii. 23.

with Christ and rising again with Him, and thereby renewing the image of God in the soul.

There can be no doubt, then, that in the false teaching referred to in the Epistle to the Colossians we come upon an incipient Gnosticism. Even in the Apostolic age there was a tendency to lose the central idea of Christianity in an esoteric doctrine, in vague mystical speculations and in asceticism. The vigorous protest of the Apostle was, however, unsuccessful in arresting the growth of Gnosticism, even in the churches of the Lycus, as we see from the denunciations of the Apocalypse, though in the second century it assumed a different form. The transition from the earlier to the later form we find in the doctrine of Cerinthus,* who even in point of time forms the link between the Gnosticism of the first and the Gnosticism of the second century.

"Cerinthus," Irenaeus tells us, "taught that the world was not made by the highest God, but by a Power far removed from, and ignorant of, this Supreme Being."† As we learn from other authorities, he held the universe to have been created, not by a single Power, but by a number of Powers. It is also stated that, in his view, the Mosaic law was given, not by the supreme God, but by the angel, or one of the angels, who created the world. The Christology of Cerinthus is also Gnostic. Like the Ebionites he "maintained that Jesus was born in the natural way, though he excelled all other men in righteousness, intelligence and wisdom. Cerinthus further held that after his baptism the Christ, descending upon Jesus from the Supreme Ruler in the form of a dove, revealed to him the unknown Father and worked miracles through him, but at last took flight and left him, so that Jesus alone suffered and rose again, while the Christ, as a spiritual being, remained without suffering."‡

In this account of the doctrine of Cerinthus we find a feature which reappears in all subsequent Gnostic systems, the conception that the world was not made by God himself, but by a subordinate agent. The earlier conception of Jewish Christianity, as held by the Ebionites, did not differ from the current Jewish view that the world was the work of God. Cerinthus has de-

*Flourished 98-117.

†Irenaeus, *Refutation of History*, I. xxvi. 1.

‡Ibid I. xxvi. 1.

parted from this view so far as to ascribe creation to a being lower than God; but, on the other hand, he conceives of this being, after the later Jewish fashion, as an angel, not as a spiritual Power or Aeon. Thus his doctrine is evidently in process of transition from the Judaic to the later Gnostic doctrine. And as the creator of the world is said to be 'far removed' from the supreme God, we must suppose that Cerinthus held, more or less definitely, the Gnostic theory of a number of intermediate agencies, though he still conceived of these as angels, not as emanations. Lastly, Cerinthus agrees with later Gnostics in representing the Demiurge as also the giver of the Mosaic Law, but he differs from them in merely ascribing ignorance to him, while his successors represent him as antagonistic to the supreme and good God.

Now, it seems at first sight as if Cerinthus, in his conception of an angelic creator, had fallen back upon a lower conception than that of the Ebionites, who held fast by the conception of God as the creator of the universe. But we must distinguish between the uncritical acceptance of a traditional belief and the first imperfect effort to transcend it. The Ebionites simply accepted the common anthropomorphic idea that the heavens and the earth are the work of God's hands, just as they clung to circumcision and were strict observers of the Jewish ceremonial law. They were only half liberated from Judaism, and therefore they did not perceive that the Christian conception of a self-revealing God was not identical with the traditional Jewish conception. We can therefore understand why they accepted only the gospel of Matthew, and rejected the teaching of Paul. Nor must we forget that the Pauline conception of the Son of God as the creator of the world must have seemed to them as hardly less objectionable than the angelic Demiurge of Cerinthus. We must therefore be prepared to see in the doctrine of Cerinthus, imperfect as it is, an advance upon the doctrine of the ordinary Jewish Christians. What, then, led Cerinthus to deny the direct creation of the world by the supreme God, and to attribute it to an angelic Demiurge? Partly no doubt it was logically necessitated by the reflective movement of the time towards a purely abstract conception of God, a conception which, as we see from Philo, was explicitly developed in the Alexandrian school of Jewish philosophy. In the revolt from anthropomorphic modes of

conceiving the Supreme Being, God was raised so high above all knowable reality, that the difficulty was to find any mediation between Him and the world. In this strait the belief in angels of later Judaism seemed to offer a means of connecting the Infinite with the Finite. Alexandrian Judaism solved the difficulty by hypostatizing the attributes of God as spiritual Powers, through whose agency the world was formed. The way for this doctrine had been prepared by later Judaism in the books which personified Wisdom as the daughter of God, and even the Septuagint sought to preserve the spirituality and independence of God by representing Him as acting indirectly through angelic ministers. Cerinthus rather inclined to this latter view than to the more abstract conception of Philo, adopting a compromise between the old and the new, in which the purified conception of God was combined with the angelology of later Judaism. This illogical doctrine, in which God was viewed as at once the Author of all things and yet as inactive, could not long be accepted, and hence later Gnostics carried out the movement towards a more spiritual conception of the universe by transforming the angels of Cerinthus into ideal Powers or Aeons, while preserving the separateness of God from the world and the creative activity of the subordinate agents. To this second phase of Gnosticism attention must now be directed.

II. HELLENIC GNOSTICISM.

The main leaders of Gnosticism in the second century, while they retain the characteristics we have found exhibited by the 'false teachers' among the Colossians and by Cerinthus, differ in being largely influenced by Greek ideas and modes of thought. This inevitably gave a new character to their speculations. Greek thought had for centuries occupied itself with the problem of explaining the origin of the world, and the principles which underlie the various forms of being and of human society. Early Greek philosophy turned against the anthropomorphism and polytheism of the traditional mythology, and this movement finally resulted, in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, in a pure speculative Monotheism and in a closely reasoned system of ideas, embracing the whole wealth of knowledge as it then existed. In its later phases Greek philosophy had come to despair of a solution of the riddle of existence by the normal

exercise of reason. But, even when a basis for truth was sought in religious intuition, the Greek tendency to intellectual clearness led to the attempt to construct a system of ideas, in which the reflective intellect could feel itself at home. Christianity, with its new revelation of the nature of God and man, compelled thinkers who had been trained in the Greek schools to seek for a view which should solve the problems raised by philosophy, and it was inevitable that the attempt should be made to bring the new ideas into harmony with the preconceptions by which they were dominated. To them Christianity presented itself, not merely as a religion, but as a divine philosophy, and in it, as they assumed, was to be found a complete answer to the problems which philosophy had in vain attempted to solve. But the Gospel was Jewish in its origin, and had been presented by St. Paul as at once a fulfilment and an abrogation of the whole Mosaic law. The problem therefore arose to determine the relation of the Jewish religion to Christianity. St. Paul had put forward the illuminating conception of the Law as a divine preparation for the Gospel, and, by the aid of this reconciling idea, had extracted from the Old Testament a testimony to the transitional character of the whole Mosaic dispensation, while he had also seen in the death and resurrection of Jesus a revelation of the divine nature. In his interpretation of the sacred records the Apostle employed the prevalent allegorical method which had originated in Greece, but always in subordination to the central ideas of Christianity; and in this way he was enabled to reconcile the Jewish converts to Christianity without destroying their reverence for the Old Testament as the revelation of God. But St. Paul's training had been rabbinical, though he was not entirely uninfluenced by Greek modes of thought, and hence men like the Gnostics, whose training had been of a different type, came to the Old Testament from a different point of view. They admitted its divine authority, but they found in it a hidden philosophy. It was to them, as to Philo, by whom they were largely influenced, a symbolic account of the liberation of the spirit from the bondage of nature. This was the method by which they were enabled to retain the Old Testament as a Christian book, and yet to affirm that Christianity was an entirely new revelation. Preparation had already been made for this view in the transformation which later Judaism had undergone under the influence

of Babylonian and Persian ideas, as well as of later Jewish speculation, which was already dominated by Greek ideas. Like Philo, the Gnostics found a solvent for the difficulties involved in the literal interpretation of the Old Testament in the allegorical method of exegesis, which was as much a legacy from Greece as the positive ideas due to Greek philosophy. In support of this method they could appeal to St. Paul and other New Testament writers. Armed with this potent instrument, even the historical records of the Old Testament, not to speak of its other contents, could be interpreted as symbols of hidden truth. Instead of apocalyptic dreams of a Messianic kingdom, the Gnostics substituted a mystical philosophy, in which the centre of interest was transferred from the ordinary world in which men lived to a vague spiritual realm of personified abstractions. But this transforming process could not stop with the Old Testament. In the second century the writings of the New Testament were accepted as a divine revelation, certainly not inferior to those of the Old Testament, and to them was applied the same method of exegesis, so that the birth, life, passion and ascension of the Lord were interpreted as symbols of a great world-process. Thus arose those fantastic creations of Hellenic Gnosticism, in which an attempt was made to find a solution of the problems of philosophy in a mystical interpretation of the sacred records. And when it was once admitted that Christianity in its inner essence could only be understood by those who possessed the inner light which enabled them to interpret the hidden meaning of Scripture, it was an obvious inference that only those who were endowed with this faculty were capable of that special Gnosis or illumination in which salvation was supposed to consist, though at least some of the Gnostic schools were willing to allow a certain measure of illumination to the ordinary Christian,

Now, though the Church refused to accept the solutions proposed by the Gnostics, it has never rejected the problem which they were the first to formulate or the method which they employed in its solution. The Gnostics are the first Christian theologians, or rather the first Christian theologians who sought to construct a theology on the basis of revelation after the model of Greek philosophy and by the use of the Greek allegorical exegesis. The problem and the method were dictated by the

stage of thought at which the world had arrived, and neither the one nor the other was rejected by the Church, nor was the Church uninfluenced by Gnostic ideas, even when these were untenable. Thus Gnosticism almost forces us to ask what is the justification, if there is a justification, for the persistent tendency in all ages to construct a system of theology on the basis of Christian faith. There is, perhaps, no more pressing question at the present day, and though it would be impossible to deal fully with it here, we can hardly pass it by, if we are to form an intelligent estimate of the value of Gnosticism.

In the revolt from what we feel to be the inadequacy of existing theological systems, we are sometimes tempted to cut the knot by ignoring theology altogether, and falling back upon "simple faith." Such an attitude can never give permanent satisfaction. You may imagine that in this way you have got rid of all theology, but it will be found that you have in reality merely reduced your theology to a vague and colourless doctrine, in which all that is distinctive of Christianity has evaporated. For, the moment we ask what is meant by "simple faith," the old difficulties begin to crowd in upon us, and we discover that, unless we wilfully shut our eyes and resolve not to think at all, we must do our best to find a solution for our intellectual perplexities. 'Faith,' as we must remember, must be 'faith' in something : it must have an object, and it cannot be a matter of indifference what that object is. Even if it is only a 'faith' in something higher than the things of sense, we cannot help asking what is meant by 'higher than the things of sense'; and any one who attempts to define the distinction between the sensible and the supersensible will soon find that he has entered upon a voyage which will lead him into strange lands. But of course, we do not mean by 'faith' anything so vague and colourless ; we mean 'faith' in that revelation of God which is characteristic of Christianity. But this again only raises a new problem. Where are we to find Christianity uncontaminated by theology ? To some writers, it seems to be found in the faith of the primitive Christian community, before it was affected by the speculations of Christian theologians who were influenced so largely by Greek ideas. Harnack, for example, tells us that the basis of the primitive Christian churches was "a holy life on the ground of a common hope, which rested upon the faith that God, who had spoken



through the prophets, has sent his Son Jesus Christ, and revealed eternal life through Him."* But this primitive faith obviously involves a set of ideas which have only to be developed into explicitness to become a theology. And if it is maintained that all departure from this set of ideas is to be regarded as illegitimate, what are we to say of the complex theology of St. Paul and St. John, which went a very long way beyond them? To this objection it may be answered, that, though we must have a theology, it does not follow that we are to have a system of abstract conceptions or dogmas. Theology, it may be said, should be the interpretation of religious experience, and religious experience is too personal and too complex to be imprisoned in any set of dogmas. The moment you begin to define, to formulate, to systematize, you narrow down the infinity which is characteristic of all religious experience and substitute a collection of dead abstractions for the living truth.

Now, while there is a certain amount of truth in this contention, it does not seem to have any validity as an objection to a definite system of theology. That theology must be based upon religious experience is an important truth; and it is also true that theology can never be a substitute for religious experience; but neither of these admissions carries with it the implication that theology is not as capable of precise and definite statement as any other science. What lends countenance to the opposite view is, firstly, the confusion between religious experience and theology, and, secondly, the identification of theology with a fixed and unchanging set of dogmas. (1) It should not be necessary to protest against the former mistake. Every science must be based upon experience, and if experience is ignored or tampered with the science must be correspondently unreal or inadequate. But, on the other hand, no science can be a mere transcript of experience. The experience of every man has in it something unique, which is incapable of being stated in universal propositions. It is this fact which seems to support the view of those who contend that theology should be simply the record of personal experience. It is forgotten that, while no one can live the life of another, much less the lives of the countless millions who have rejoiced and suffered since man appeared upon the earth, it yet is possible to grasp in thought the principles which

*Harnack: *Dogmengeschichte*, I., 211.

give meaning to the lives of men. Were it not possible to make one's personal experience an object of thought, we should neither understand ourselves nor anybody else. We have therefore to remember that, when we speak of our "experience," we do not mean the particular ideas and feelings that arise in us from moment to moment, but the interpretation we put upon them. "Experience," in other words, exists in the medium of thought, and without thought we should have no "experience." Now, what every man does for himself, it is the task of theology to do for the race. It corrects the inevitable but inadequate reflection of the individual by viewing it in the light of wider experience, and the adequacy of this reflection is a measure of the adequacy of a system of theology. (2) This leads us to see the mistake of arguing that, because theology cannot be a fixed and unchanging set of dogmas, it cannot be a science. The assumption here is that theology must either consist of a number of abstract dogmas or cannot be a science. The truth is that, if it did consist of the former, it could not be the latter. No science can be stationary, for the simple reason that experience is not stationary. What would be thought of a historian who maintained that there cannot be a science of history, because history is in continuous process of formation? In the same way theology as the science of religious experience must be continually in process, because religious experience is always growing fuller and richer. What this shows is, that theology must develop in harmony with the developed religious experience of the race. At the same time we must remember that progress is not mere change, but simply a further development of the same fundamental conceptions. With the advent of Christianity was introduced a new conception of God, man and the world, which transformed the religious life and therefore the theology of all previous ages; but the full meaning of this new conception could only reveal itself in the transformation which it has effected, and has yet to effect. To imagine that we can better comprehend the meaning of Christianity by going back to the first simple faith of the Christian of the first century is as absurd as to suppose that the undeveloped germ is more significant than the full-grown tree.

If the view just indicated is sound, we cannot but sympathize with the problem which the Gnostics were attempting to solve. Convinced that Christianity was the universal religion,

they attempted to set forth its fundamental ideas in their systematic connexion. No doubt their method and the results reached by them were very inadequate as an expression of the essence of Christianity ; but nothing else could be expected from men who lived before theology had begun to take definite shape. To them belongs the credit of seeking to interpret all the knowledge, or supposed knowledge, of their time in the light of Christianity, a task which the theologian does not always attempt. Let us, then see what results these initiators of theological science reached in their attempt to construct a comprehensive religious philosophy. Certainly their systems were arbitrary and fantastic enough, but we may be certain that they had some rational meaning, and were an effort to explain problems with which we are still occupied.

As Gnosticism was essentially a philosophy of religion, it began with the conception of God, who was declared to be inconceivable and inexpressible, then attempted to explain the origin of the world with its finitude and evil by the hypothesis of emanation, and concluded with an account of the restoration of man to unity with God. It is thus evident that Gnosticism makes no attempt to advance from the nature of the world as known to us to the ultimate principle of all things, but starts with the ultimate principle and proceeds to deduce the various forms of existence from it. The objection which at once suggests itself to this whole method of procedure is that it begins by assuming the idea of God instead of showing that that idea is necessarily presupposed by the contents of our experience. And there can be no doubt that the Gnostics, instead of seeking to discover the true nature of God by an examination of the nature of the knowable world, started with the preconception of God as absolutely complete in himself apart from and independently of the world. This indeed was inevitable in a philosophy which was based, not upon the interpretation by reason of what was known, but upon a revelation which transcended reason. It must be observed, however, that the Gnostics were led to adopt this method by the whole movement of the age. By the development of the religious consciousness in Greece, the conception of God had been purified from anthropomorphism and polytheism, and by a parallel development among the Jews God had come to be conceived as the God of the whole universe ; and hence

the Gnostics naturally started from the point of view of pure Monotheism. Moreover, the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy had exalted God so far above the world that Philo was led to declare that He was absolutely incomprehensible by the human intelligence. The Gnostics therefore naturally assumed the conception of God which had thus been reached in their day, and their problem was to explain the relation of God to the world, and especially to man. These considerations may explain why the Gnostics start from the conception of God, whom they consider as raised infinitely above all particular forms of being. We shall best understand the character of their theology by a comparison of the two main representatives of Hellenic Gnosticism, Valentinus and Basilides.*

Before there was any created being, Valentinus maintained, existed the Original Father, whom he also calls the Depth, absolutely alone, uncreated, without place, without time, without Counsellor or any other Being that we can in any way conceive. Here it will be observed that the predicates by which the absolute is characterised are entirely negative. God is *not* created, *not* in space, *not* in time, *not* related to any other being. But, while Valentinus denies that we can attribute any positive qualities to the Divine Being, his use of the term *Depth* indicates that he was led to deny all positive predicates of the Absolute from his conviction of the infinite and inexhaustible completeness of the divine nature. Thus in the mind of Valentinus two opposite conceptions are combined without any consciousness on his part that they are mutually exclusive. The absolutely indeterminate Being is at the same time the infinitely determinate Being. Like Spinoza, Valentinus denies that God can be defined, not because He is absolutely simple, but because of the transcendent fullness of His being. It would seem, however, from the account of Irenaeus, that there were followers of Valentinus who sought to push the negative conception of God to its utter extreme, and who therefore denied that even 'being' could be predicated of the Absolute. And obviously this is the logical consequence of the denial of all positive predicates, among which 'being' must be placed. This sect of Valentinians may have been influenced by Basilides, who was a more consistent thinker than

*Valentinus d. circ. 160; Basilides ft. circ. 120.

his contemporary Valentinus, though perhaps for that very reason he had fewer adherents. We have, therefore, in Basilides the purest expression of the Gnostic conception of God. Here is the account given by Hippolytus of his doctrine.

"There was a time when there was nothing; and when I say 'nothing,' says Basilides, I mean to express in plain and unambiguous language, without equivocation of any kind, the idea that there was absolutely no being whatever. I have, indeed, made use of the term 'being' in saying that there 'was' nothing, but I employ the word only in a symbolical sense. Let it be clearly understood, then, that nothing whatever was. No doubt even this statement is inadequate; for, even in saying that the First Principle is 'inexpressible,' we imply that it is not altogether 'inexpressible.' But what I mean is, that there is no term by which it can be expressed, and therefore that it cannot even be said to be 'inexpressible.' Even when we are speaking of the known world, we find that language is unable to characterize the infinite differences of things; for it is impossible to find precise terms for all things, and, though we can comprehend the distinctive character of things by thought, we are forced to employ current terms, having no proper words by which to designate them. This ambiguity in the use of words has produced perplexity and confusion in the minds of the uncultured..... There was, then, nothing, neither matter, nor substance, nor that which is non-substantial, neither the simple nor the complex, neither the unthought nor the unperceived, neither man, nor angel, nor God,—in short, nothing whatever that can be named or perceived or thought. The God who was not (*ὁ οὐκ ὦν θεός*), being without thought, without perception, without will, without purpose, without passion, without desire, willed to make a world. I say 'willed,' however, merely because I am forced to use some word, but I mean that the God who was not 'willed' without volition, without thought, without perception; and when I say 'world,' I do not mean the extended and divisible world which afterwards came into being, with its capacity of division, but the cosmical seed (*σπέρμα κόσμου*). This 'seed' contained all things within itself, just as the seed of the mustard plant contains in minute form all at once roots, branches, leaves and the innumerable seeds of

future plants. Thus the God that was not made the world that was not out of what was not."*

Basilides, as you will see from this quotation, has the courage of his convictions. It would be difficult to express more fully the idea of the absolute transcendence and inscrutability of God, or the logical consequences of that idea. In considering the doctrine of Philo we came across a similar view, for Philo also maintains that it is impossible for man to comprehend the inner nature of God. But Philo, while he denies that we can predicate anything of God as He is in Himself, yet affirms that we can say that He *is*. Basilides is more consistent. Since God is absolutely incomprehensible and inexpressible, we must refuse even to say that He *is*. For to say that God *is*, or *was* before the creation of the world, is to apply to the Infinite a predicate which has meaning only in its application to the finite. Borrowing an argument common in the Peripatetic school of thinkers, Basilides seeks to show that the human mind cannot even adequately conceive or name the finite; and therefore, as he implies, it is not surprising that it cannot comprehend or express the nature of the Infinite.

In this doctrine of Basilides we have the first clear and unambiguous expression of a view which has exercised a very great influence upon Christian theology. That God absolutely transcends all knowable forms of being, and as a consequence is inconceivable and inexpressible, is a doctrine which, as Hatch points out, "was adopted at the end of the second century by the Christian philosophers of the Alexandrian schools, who inherited the wealth at once of regenerated Platonism, of Gnosticism, and of Theosophic Judaism." Clement of Alexandria, for example, affirms that God is "beyond the One and higher than the Monad itself." He cannot be named; we cannot say that He is "the One, or the Good, or Mind, or Absolute Being, or Father, or Creator, or Lord."

Now, the whole conception of God as transcending the knowable world is based upon the assumption that He is absolutely complete in himself prior to, or independently of, the universe. It is not difficult to understand how the first Christian theologians should have been led to adopt this view. Christi-

*Hippolytus, VII, 20-21.

anity was a development out of Judaism by the application of later Greek ideas, and therefore it naturally insisted strongly upon the infinite perfection of God. It is true that while in the earliest Christian teaching God is conceived of as invisible, He is not thought of as a purely spiritual Being; but it was inevitable that, with the rise of speculation, He should be conceived, if not as transcending all knowable forms of being, at least as existing beyond the visible universe; and when it was seen that God cannot be limited by space and time, the natural inference was drawn, that He is not only infinite, but is incomprehensible by the human intelligence in its normal exercise. Nor can there be any doubt that the first Christian theologians were influenced by such writers as Philo, who had already partially effected the combination of Jewish and Greek conceptions. Basilides, in his conception of "the God who was not," *i.e.*, the God who was still wrapped up in Himself and had not as yet created the visible universe, was only expressing the logical result of the negative movement from the world to God. But, when God is conceived of as beyond the world and as different in his essence from all that is known by us, He necessarily becomes a purely indeterminate being, of whom nothing can be said.

Now it would be a great mistake to undervalue the importance of this negative movement. As the source and principle of all being, God cannot be identified with any particular form of being. He cannot be simply one being existing side by side with others, but must be conceived as in some sense comprehending within himself all that is, and therefore as in his essence higher than the highest of the beings whose existence is dependent upon Him. But, while this is true, the transcendence of God cannot be admitted in the sense in which it was held by theologians like Basilides, unless we are prepared to admit that of God we know absolutely nothing. Yet this is the inevitable result of a self-consistent doctrine of the absolute transcendence of God. As Basilides says, no predicate whatever, not even the predicate of 'being,' can be applied in determination of that which is defined to be absolutely indefinable; and not only so, but we can make no assertion whatever about God, nor form even the faintest idea of His nature. Thus the name *God* comes to be little more than the deification of the word 'not,' and we are reduced to a condition of blank unconsciousness and utter speechlessness.

The motive for the purification of the idea of God from all the predicates by which we characterize known objects was undoubtedly a recognition of the absolute perfection of God. As Basilides maintains, the world as known to us is infinitely complex. No two things are precisely the same, or, in other words, each thing has its own individuality and is marked off from all other things. Our conceptions of things, and the names which we apply to them, only express what is common to all the members of a class, not what is characteristic of each. It is impossible to define, and therefore impossible to name, the individual, and we have to content ourselves with class names, which leave out all that is peculiar to each. We should only express adequately the nature of each thing if we had a special name for each, and indeed for each of the infinity of changes through which each thing passes. Hence thought, and language as its expression, is inadequate to the infinite multiplicity of objects and events. Now, this argument, if pressed to its logical conclusion, would seem to mean, when applied to God, that we cannot think or express the divine nature, because the very essence of thought and speech is to deal with the abstract, whereas God is infinitely concrete. And there is no doubt that, behind the denial of Basilides and others that God can be conceived, lies the idea that He is infinitely determinate. On the other hand, the explicit doctrine of Basilides is that God is absolutely indeterminate, and therefore cannot be conceived or expressed. Now these two conceptions are obviously antithetical and irreconcilable; God cannot be at once infinitely determinate and absolutely indeterminate, and we must make clear to ourselves which conception we propose to adopt, before we can advance a step in the construction of a true theology. It may therefore be allowed me to examine shortly the argument of Basilides for the inconceivability of God from the abstract or partial character of all thought and language.

We hear a good deal at the present day about the necessary abstractness of thought. "Experience," we are told, is concrete, including as it does all that is involved in feeling and will, as well as in thought. Hence, it is argued, those who suppose that reality can be grasped by thought do not observe that they are reducing the infinite wealth of the universe to a thin and unreal

abstraction, and substituting an "unearthly ballet of bloodless categories" for the warm and breathing life of reality.

The first remark to be made upon this theory is, that it makes a summary end of all theology. No doubt *pectus facit theologum*—the heart makes the theologian—in the sense that *without* religious experience there can be no theology. But it is just as true to say, *pectus non facit theologum*, for a theologian without a head is an inconceivable monster. Theology, in other words, consists, and must consist, in a system of thoughts, and if thought can in no sense comprehend God, there is no theology. Now, I do not think that theology is merely the manipulation of abstractions, though it may be admitted that there have been theologians whose industry consisted in little more. But if it is not, there must be some fundamental error in the doctrine that thought can deal only with the abstract. That error consists, I think, in forgetting that thought, or at least reflective thought, is in all cases a comprehension of the *principles* which make the world of our experience intelligible, never an attempt to exhaust the infinitude of the particular. In other words, thought is the comprehension of the conditions without which there can be no intelligible universe. When the scientific man tells us that there is a law of gravitation, he does not pretend, or at least should not pretend, that he has characterized the world in all the fulness of its detail. If he is foolish enough to make such a claim, he may be immediately refuted by the simplest experience,—the experience, e.g., that a stone has characteristics which the law of gravitation does not express. What the law really states is, that, *whatever else* an external object may be, it owes its gravity to the system of things of which it forms a part. Let us apply this view of thought to the conception of God. To say that we have a true conception of the nature of God does not mean that we have a complete and exhaustive experience of all that God is. To have such an experience would be to realize all that is involved in the inexhaustible fulness of the divine nature; in other words, to be as perfect as God himself. No one in his senses will make so preposterous a claim. But, on the other hand, we may surely have a conception of God in the same sense as we have the conception of a law of nature: we may be able to tell that God is self-conscious, self-originating and self-manifesting,

though we cannot state in detail all that is involved in the infinite perfection of His nature. And if so, we have a conception of God which is absolute, in the sense that, while our experience of His nature is partial and incomplete, it yet is the experience of a Being who is self-conscious, self-originating and self-manifesting. Thus, theology becomes a science of the nature of God, and, indeed, in a sense the only science, since all branches of knowledge must be the gradual comprehension of the perfect and inexhaustible fulness of the divine nature.

There is another side to the First Principle of Basilides. His reason for maintaining that God transcends all being, thought and speech is that every form of knowable reality is separated from God 'by a whole genus,' as Philo puts it: in other words, that the world and God differ absolutely in their nature, the one being finite, the other infinite. Now, it is perfectly true that finite reality must be held to be absolutely different in nature from infinite reality, so long as the former is viewed as nothing but finite. The opposition of finite and infinite, as Hegel says, is "one of the most stubborn antitheses of the abstract understanding." But, before we pronounce the world to be finite and God to be infinite, it would be better to ask whether there is any form of being which can be truly declared to be finite. There is no doubt that in our ordinary way of looking at things we do assume that we have a knowledge of finite things. The tree, the mountain and the river are all, as we suppose, distinct and separate from one another, and therefore each is finite. Moreover, there was a time when each began to be, and a time when it will cease to be, and such limitation in time implies finitude. And if we turn our thought upon ourselves, is it not obvious that each of us is finite, both because each has his own peculiarities and because our life begins and comes to an end? The Infinite, on the other hand, must be absolutely self-complete, without beginning or end, and without limitation of any kind. When, therefore, any one challenges the assumption that there is an opposition of finite and infinite, common sense is up in arms and imagines that the objector is denying the plainest facts. But it is not really so. There is nothing which can be called finite in an absolute sense. It is certainly true that a tree is not a mountain, or a mountain a river, and it

is equally true that I am not you, or you me ; but it is not true that any object or any person is absolutely finite. Surely it is no perversity of speculation to say that the tree or the mountain could not be at all were not the whole physical universe what it is ; that you and I could not be, were there no physical universe and no human race from which we have sprung. Thus each thing involves the whole, without which it could not be. And is it not obvious that the whole universe cannot be finite ? On the other hand, there could be no universe without the individuals in which it is differentiated. It is therefore only when we separate one thing from another, without recognizing its relation to the whole, that it seems to have an independent existence. What we call the finite is but a special form in which the infinite—the universe as a whole—is expressed ; so that there is no finite apart from the infinite, and no infinite apart from the finite. This idea may be expressed in a way that is more readily apprehended, when we say that without God nothing can be. Were God not, the tree, the mountain, the individual man, could not be ; and it is at bottom atheism to affirm the absolute finitude of any particular thing. Now, if this is true, it is evident that we cannot oppose God to the world, as if He could be without the world. God is manifested in the world, and to suppose that He is outside of it is to make the world godless and to make any relation of God to the world an impossibility. Basilides, like many of his successors, imagined that, before the world was, God existed wrapped up in Himself and self-complete ; but the logic of his system compelled him to admit that of such a God nothing whatever could be said. It is little wonder that such a fiction of abstraction should be found unintelligible and inexpressible.

As none of the predicates by which existence is characterised are applicable to the Absolute, Basilides naturally denies that we can speak of God as thinking, perceiving or willing. Taken strictly, this would mean that God has no definite nature. But Basilides undoubtedly rather means to affirm that in God all real distinctions cease to be distinctions and are resolved into unity. Perhaps we may understand how he was led, in his endeavour to preserve the absoluteness of God, to deny of Him thought, perception and will by the following considerations.

The thought of anything, as exercised by us, seems to presuppose the independent existence of that about which we think. Thought, as we have already seen, was conceived by Basilides as an abstraction from the infinite variety of objects, qualities and events presented in experience. We fix our attention, as he supposed, upon the *common* element in a number of objects, and let drop the points in which they differ, and therefore thought can never take up into itself the nature of things. Now, if this is the nature of thought, it cannot be predicated of God, because we should be maintaining that objects existed prior to, and independent of God, and that God could not even comprehend the whole nature of those objects. Against such a doctrine Basilides protests. God is absolute, and there can exist nothing apart from Him, and certainly nothing which He does not completely comprehend. If we say that God is a thinking being, we must suppose Him to think a world which already exists independently of Him, and to think it imperfectly. Hence the nature of God must be such that it transcends thought. Nor can we predicate perception of God; for though perception, unlike thought, comes into direct contact with things and their qualities, it does not create the objects it apprehends, and it has this peculiar defect that it never deals with the whole, but only with a part. Perception, in other words, cannot create its objects, nor can it comprehend existence in its completeness. But God must be creative of all things, and therefore He can never be described as exercising a receptive faculty like perception. Lastly, *will* cannot be ascribed to God, because volition as we experience it in ourselves—and we know of no other—is the process by which we seek to complete our being by a transition into a new state; whereas God must be eternally complete. It was from such considerations as these that Basilides was led to deny thought, perception and will of God. He denied these predicates of God, because they seemed to him to destroy the unity and perfection of His nature, which must transcend all such limited forms of existence.

But, while it was the intention of Basilides to preserve the absolute perfection of God by denying of Him thought, perception and will, the logical result of his doctrine was to empty the conception of God of all meaning. He confuses the distinction

of thought, perception and will, and the distinction of subject and object, with their absolute separation. It is quite true that in God thought, perception and will cannot be separate modes of activity; but it is not true that the Divine Intelligence can be devoid of all distinction. It must be admitted that in God there can be no absolute separation between that which He is and that which He knows; but it is not true that there is within His nature no distinction between subject and object. That Intelligence is perfect in which all distinctions are the expression of unity, and there can be no Intelligence where there is no distinction of subject and object. God must be conceived as self-conscious Intelligence or Spirit, unless we are to fall back upon a purely indeterminate Being, blindly originating existence. Basilides is himself forced to admit that we have to think and speak of God as 'willing'; but he shelters himself from the consequences of this admission by saying that the term *will* is applied to God only in an analogical or symbolical sense. But this only conceals the inner contradiction of his doctrine. If 'will' is employed in an analogical sense, we must at least know that with which it is contrasted. We cannot know that 'will' is in any sense applicable to God, unless we know how far it is true, and how far false. Thus we are reduced to the dilemma: If we know what in God corresponds to 'will,' we must be able to comprehend the nature of God; if we do not, we cannot know that there is any correspondence whatever.

[Concluded in the next Number.]

JOHN WATSON.

THE CREATION NARRATIVES OF GENESIS IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN CRITICISM.

THIS is a large subject around which there has grown up an exceedingly varied and extensive literature, it will therefore be necessary to confine our attention to the latest changes in the apologetical situation and the more recent contributions of Biblical criticism. In the so-called conflict between religion and science, these chapters have formed the arena in which many a battle has been fought fiercely if not always wisely. Those dialectic contests were no doubt unavoidable at the time and must be judged as stages in a movement which has advanced all the more steadily because of its slowness. The latest controversy of this kind to attract wide-spread attention was that between Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley. From our standpoint the great statesman must be regarded as many years behind the times both as to his knowledge of physical science and his assimilation of Biblical criticism. The distinguished Professor was of course entitled to speak as to what was generally accepted by students of physical science, and on points of Old Testament Scholarship he quotes some of the most recent authorities but however much we may agree with his protest against the attempts to make the book of Genesis anticipate the latest discoveries of science we feel that those who desire to be loyal both to science and scripture need a treatment which is both more special and more sympathetic.

In justice to Mr. Gladstone it is only fair to recognize that, at the same period, orthodox theologians holding prominent positions expressed similar views. Dr. Bartlett, dealing with the subject in a special course of lessons given at Princeton shows that he has no hesitation in informing the students as to the method adopted by the author of Genesis I. He says "the narrative is foreshortened in an unparalleled degree," and that "on the lowest estimate" there is "half a million of years to every verse" in fact it is like an attempt to draw a map of North America in the space of a square inch. He has distinctly stated that the chapter is not poetry but narrative, narrative that is not scientific or technical but popular and phenomenal but he goes on to

maintain than in at least fifteen particulars, it is in harmony with the latest science. The same lecturer treats the second chapter in a similar manner; he remarks that "in the formation of woman we find the greatest apparent scriptural obstacle to the doctrine of Evolution." He says that many questions might be asked about the thing represented by the word "rib" and he himself asks this one which is sufficiently startling "Was it some portion of the frame originally added for the purpose of being removed?" A question which seems more in harmony with the mediæval than the modern attitude of mind. The following statement added a little further on does not seem to tend towards greater clearness. "If we understand this to be in all respects a literal and objective statement we still have remarkably sustained from the first, the law that now prevails through all life—that as Huxley would say the living protoplasm comes from living protoplean (?)—life from previous life the woman from the man." This kind of reasoning appears to have one disadvantage, namely, any one thing may mean any other thing, convenient no doubt for purposes of discussion but scarcely suited to produce either good theology or correct science.

It is not necessary to attempt a full review of this debate as to the scientific accuracy of Genesis as the books containing the opposite views of Gladstone and Huxley are quite accessible to those for whom the details of that controversy possess any interest. It may be well, however, to illustrate its effects by showing the impression made upon those who watched the conflict with very different feelings. Mr. S. Laing who seems to pose as an aggressive champion of "modern thought" says "Works like this of Mr. Gladstone's, however well intentioned, are in reality profoundly irreligious, for if—like the throw of the gambler, who, when the cards or dice go against him, stakes all or nothing on some desperate cast—religion is staked on the one issue that incredible narratives are true, and were dictated by Divine inspiration, there can be but one result."

"Mr. Gladstone's first essay having elicited a crushing reply from Prof. Huxley, he followed it up with a second one, entitled "Proem of Creation," which is chiefly remarkable for the rhetorical dexterity with which he withdraws under a cloud of smoke from the position rendered untenable by the Professor's

heavy artillery, while at the same time he defends an equally untenable position not within his opponent's line of fire."

"He admits that this pulverises his position that there was a scientific *consensus* as to a sequence like that of Genesis in the production of animal life as between fishes, birds, mammals and animals and men."

"He rides off by saying that the writer of the account of the creation in Genesis is not responsible for scientific precision, nothing can be assigned to him but 'a statement general which admits exceptions, popular which aims mainly at producing moral impressions, summary which cannot but be open to more or less criticism of detail.' 'In a word,' he says, 'I think it is a sermon,' But how is an account of creation evaporated into a sermon to prove a revelation?" This statement is sufficiently sarcastic and we have to admit that as a criticism of Mr. Gladstone's masterly retreat, it is substantially correct, though we do not think that the writer shows any real sympathy with the thought of revelation in any form.

Prof. H. Drummond held a chair in a Presbyterian College which was created for the purpose of dealing specially with the relation of physical science to theology. It came, therefore, quite naturally within his province to review this controversy and he offers us in his own vigorous style a solution of the difficulty. "The contest is dying out. The new view of the Bible has rendered further apologetics almost superfluous. I have endeavoured to show that in my article on creation. No one now expects science from the Bible. The literary form of Genesis precludes the idea, you might as well contrast Paradise lost with geology as the Book of Genesis. Mr. Huxley might have been better employed than in laying this poor old ghost. The more modern views of the inspiration of the Bible have destroyed the stock in trade of the platform infidel. Such men are constructing difficulties which do not exist and they fight as those that beat the air." According to Prof. H. Drummond, Mr. Gladstone's case may be summed up in the following three propositions:—

1. According to the writer of the Pentateuch the "water-population," "air-population" and "land-population" were created in the order named.

2. This is so affirmed in our time by Natural Science that it

may be taken as demonstrated conclusion and established fact.

3. This co-incidence shows that either the writer was gifted with faculties passing all human experience, or his knowledge was divine.

Prof. Huxley proves that the second of these propositions is incorrect, and affirms therefore that the third collapses of itself. Prof. Drummond accepted the statement that it is impossible to harmonize Genesis and science, but denies that the contradiction is fatal to the belief that Genesis contains a revelation from God. "The critics," he says, "find history, poetry, moral philosophy, lives and letters, mystical devotional didactic pieces, but science there is none." "Dating from the childhood of the world, written for children and for that child-spirit in man which remains unchanged by time, it takes colour and shape accordingly. Its object is purely religious, the point being not how certain things are made, but that God made them. It is not dedicated to science, but to the soul. It is a sublime theology given in view of ignorance, idolatry or polytheism, telling the worshipful youth of the world that the heavens and earth and every creeping and flying thing were made by God." To give these quotations was perhaps the fairest way of setting forth the latest phase of the apologetic. Dr. Marcus Dods, Prof. Elmslie and others took substantially the same position. From the critical standpoint it needs some modification, for "the critics" do not regard Genesis I. as pure poetic theology, and they do not think that it belongs to the "childhood of the world." If we accepted Prof. Drummond's statement as full and final, there would be no need to say anything more from the apologetic standpoint. In this essay it is not necessary to attempt to justify the theistic conception which lies behind the narrative. We might then dismiss the matter by saying that Genesis I. contains a sublime theology and is quite innocent of science, so that all this talk about a conflict between Scriptures and science is out of date. We feel, however, the need of attacking the subject in a different fashion and giving patient attention to small but significant details. Our investigation will at least teach us that Biblical theology and apologetics must be influenced by the most careful Biblical criticism. In fact, sympathetic and constructive criticism is in this case the real apologetic. If we admit our need of a less mechan-

ical view of inspiration and an apologetical treatment with a more correct historical perspective, we make this admission not because of pressure from those who claim to speak in the name of physical science, but on account of a reverent scientific examination of the documents. Before undertaking this more minute examination the writer of this essay was prepared to admit that it might be in a broad sense correct to say that there was science in the first chapter of Genesis, and that such science as there was is now out of date. If we view the Old Testament as part of a progressive revelation it follows that we should frankly acknowledge the fact that even the theology of the earlier portions is relatively imperfect. Though the oak comes from the acorn it is not wise to abolish the distinction between the seed and the full grown tree, you do not treat an acorn irreverently when you simply point out that it has not yet attained to the stature of the oak. It is scarcely correct to say that there was no science in those days, though the different branches of knowledge were not so clearly divided or so highly specialised as now. The first chapter of Genesis when it assumed its final form represented the latest science and noblest theology to which the Hebrew people had then attained, and it served in that capacity during many centuries for the great body of Christians as well as for the Jews. Men who have been taught in the school of Christ and are "the heirs of all the ages" may pass through it to a deeper thought of creation and a grander view of God's relation to the world. Belief in inspiration and admiration for this noblest of all cosmogonies, does not demand that we should claim infallibility for its external frame-work and finality for every detail.

How does this agree with the later more severe scrutiny that has been given to the narratives? We need not quote from Dillmann, as his commentary is now accessible to English readers. Take, then, this statement from one of the most recent commentaries. In the first chapter of Genesis "God is not confused with the world, it is not the fairy world of mythology, but the world as nature. God has shaped the world well that man may live in it. The religious and scientific treatment of the world are united. The interest of the writer is not mainly and certainly not merely religious. He will give a cosmogony, a series of events advancing from simple to more complicated.

This does not hinder him from building upon a given mythology." "It does not detract from this creation history that the picture of the world pre-supposed no longer corresponds in whole or in details to our knowledge of the world."—(Holzinger.) After pointing out many similarities in the Babylonian cosmogony he remarks: "These are now pictures of the nursery. When we realize the contrast between this and what is taught in our schools we see that clever attempts at reconciliation are out of date." "Our task is different, namely, to show that the thought of the supra-mundane God, so to speak, the leading motive of Gen. 1 agrees with the modern representation of the world its becoming and process even better than with the ancient world picture, since that was quite foreign to the thought of the supra-mundane God, while the origin of the modern treatment of the world has this idea, not only historically, but also really as a pre-supposition." This view, that the author of Genesis 1 while working upon ancient material treats this in a theological spirit that is comparatively modern, has in recent years gained ground among specialists. Though they are "made in Germany," we welcome such statements from one who has given a recent and careful examination of these two narratives in the light of all the knowledge which has up to the present been gathered from language and literature of the Hebrew people. The same work has been done in different ways by many scholars, and on several points there is a large consensus of opinion.

The problem is an exceedingly complex one. It involves an attempt to fix the date of the two narratives in their present form, a careful comparison of them as to their standpoint and style, a discussion as to whether there was a more original written form, an investigation of the ancient traditions which lie in the background, a comparison of these with the cosmogonies and theogonies of other peoples, and especially of those most nearly akin to the Hebrew race. As every line of this investigation calls for careful criticism, often based upon scanty sources, it will easily be seen that upon many details there must be room for great variety of opinion. Still it is wonderful how much has been accomplished by the patient toil of many workers who have confirmed or checked each other.

The most superficial reader can see that we have in the first

two chapters of Genesis two different narratives of creation, though it is only a careful study of the original that reveals the depth and breadth of this difference. At the basis of such literary criticism, as a science, there lies the belief, not only that every prophet spoke to his own time, but also that every living document is saturated with the life of the period in which it had its origin. A section may be small, its marks not very distinct, or our knowledge of the time may be too limited, hence our efforts to place it may be baffled, or produce only conjectures of the slightest probability. In such cases there is great room for the play of individual peculiarities; with regard to the present question many scholars working from the same principles have produced similar results.

The documentary theory means not only that we have here two narratives, but also that these belong to two different documents which are marked throughout by diversity of thought, language and historical background. In their present form they spring from different epochs and represent different schools. This is the result of a century's international labour, and the arguments for its correctness are too varied and technical to receive even the barest mention now; our business is to apply as briefly as possible to the matter in hand. The first chapter of Genesis belongs then to what is called "The Priestly Document," a book which deals largely with ecclesiastical legislation and has only a slight historical framework. It is supposed by many to be, in its final form, the latest element of the composite book which we call the Pentateuch, and it is certainly the least poetic. It is marked by a fondness for schemes, systems and frequently recurring formulae. In this section the poetic elements of the original cosmogony are largely subdued and in contrast with its companion story it is prosaic rather than poetic, but its regular march of statement combined with the grandeur of the subject gives it a certain air of sublimity. In harmony with this view of its origin we note its fully developed belief in the one God, who stands apart from the world conquers chaos and creates by the power of his word. The writer begins with chaos, or according to the view of some interpreters merely mentions it in parenthesis, and then sets it aside and creation proceeds in regular order. In some of the ancient cosmogonies there is the idea of a chaos and

of the world arising through a division of diverse elements by a process from within, by what we might call a process of evolution, if we take care to avoid the modern associations of that popular word. There seems to be here a pale reflection of something of that kind, but without reasoned reconciliation, the thought of the transcendent God is supreme. This is certainly one of the noblest products of Hebrew theology, with the view we now possess of the development of religious thought in Israel, we cannot conceive of it as existing in the time of Moses, it was there no doubt in the germ, but as worked out here it is comparatively modern. The writer of the narrative did not create this great truth of the supreme God, he does not on the whole display much creative genius, he received it as the result of a religious movement that has a long history behind it. This is one of Israel's greatest contributions to the religious life of the world.

Consistent with this is the absence of "anthropomorphism," there is only one trace of it, the rest of God on the sabbath day, and this results not from the writer's spirit or style, but from his scheme. It is a scheme of six-days into which eight works are compressed and the nature of the division has suggested to some scholars that probably the series of works existed before the scheme of days. All the trouble about the meaning of the word "day" has come from the exigencies of apologetics rather than from sound exegesis. The Hebrew word, as well as our own word "day," may under certain circumstances mean an indefinite period, in fact in the next narrative it is used in the sense of "when," but it cannot have an indefinite meaning when it is a member of a definite series. When we speak of the days of the week or month, we mean a definite and limited not an indefinite portion of time.

Holzinger gives his view of the character of the first narrative in these words—"A real description of process is avoided rather than given. We are informed in the most general manner that things came to pass in proper order and for a good purpose, according to the divine command," We cannot discuss in detail Wellhausen's view of the two narratives, neither can we follow him when he attempts at one point to make one a polemic against the other, these general statements from that quarter are however worth noting. "In chapter II. we find our-

selves in the enchanted garden of antiquity, the fresh antique earth-smell blows around us, in I it is different, there is no play of fancy to describe the process of the world-creation, but everywhere thoughtful reflective construction which can be followed with little trouble. The author merely gives the frame-work of creation which remains unfilled up. The scheme over-balances the contents so that instead of intuitive description we receive logical definition." According to his view chaos and the brooding spirit are traditional or mythological and the whole is worked out from that point. "Brooded over by the spirit of God chaos is prepared for the development from itself, but in the Hebrew narrative the immanent has given way to the transcendent God, and the evolution principle is pressed back by the creative word."

H. Gunkel, of Berlin, has devoted much attention to the detailed consideration and comparison of these two narratives. While accepting the dominant view as to the date of the first chapter of Genesis, *in its present form*, he finds many traces of traditional material which has the closest affinity with the ancient Babylonian cosmogony. It is instructive to note the course of criticism which first settles approximately the date of this "Priestly Document," showing the comparative modernness of its latest forms, and then goes back to show that it contains much old material which had long been working in the life of the people. This cannot be called "reaction," at least it is not "the irrational movement of reaction," but simply a further and fuller investigation in the light of results already gained. This writer, having made a special point of this, may sometimes have pressed it too far, but the more recent commentators, Dillmann and Holzinger, accept the same principle, though they may differ in some details of the application. As our space is limited, we will simply quote from Gunkel on one point, so that the reader may have a specimen of the manner of his investigation and judge as to its character. After mentioning several signs which seem to furnish satisfactory evidence that the narrative in chap. I comes from an earlier story, he elaborates the following point of contrast between the two narratives. "Further deductions may be made from the conception that the world was once water. This conception evidently arose under the impression of a particular climate. The myth represents to itself the first

arising of the world, as now the world arises every new year. At first there is water and darkness, the light arises and the water parts itself into waters above the clouds and in the sea. The conception is only intelligible in a land whose character is marked by great streams. In winter the rain streams from heaven and mixes itself with the water into a chaos, but the spring brings back the division of water above and below. This is made more certain by a comparison with those creation histories which are now bound up with the Paradise stories. There the earth is originally without vegetation, because it has no rain, II, 5, A variant from another tradition now mingled with the first says that Jehovah caused watery vapour to ascend from the earth. Both are Canaanite conceptions, the water is not the enemy which must be driven away in order that the world may appear, but the friend, the beneficence of God, without whose aid the field will not bring forth its produce. Gen. II. reflects this view of nature in characteristic fashion, in Gen. I. the Divinity conquers the water, in Gen. II. he creates it. The myth of I. would be quite intelligible in Babylon."

"In this connection it is instructive to note how the Hebrews and the Babylonians of the old time reckoned the beginning of the year. According to the old Hebrew tradition the year begins in autumn, according to the Babylonian in the spring. The rainy season was in Israel reckoned as the beginning of the new year, in Babylon as the end of the old. Now it lies in the nature of the case that the world was created in the spring-time. Therefore in Israel they would consider water as the first creation of God; but in Babylon as the first act of God that he made the rain to cease. The application of this to a judgment of Gen. I. and II. is clear. The creation history of Gen. II. agrees with the Hebrew beginning of the year and shows itself as old Canaanitish, but Gen. I. agrees with the Babylonian reckoning."

The second narrative is simpler and yet deeper, more poetic in form and more subtle in its handling of the life of man; its language and theological conceptions belong to an earlier stage in the life of Israel. It does not give us a broad, general scheme of creation, but a vivid picture of man's origin and the coming of misery into a world which must once have been so bright.

As Holzinger says, "We have to do with a story-teller of the first rank, who displays a wonderful knowledge of the human heart." The same scholar who will scarcely be suspected of reading later theological ideas into the story interprets it thus: "The traditional material is thoroughly penetrated with the mode of thought of the spiritual and ethical religion. God is not a pale abstraction, not the deity of a heathen myth, but the God of Israel's prophetic religion, a holy God who spurns wickedness, but at the same time a kind, sympathetic father, even if that expression is not used. Paradise is lost through sin." At this point it may be well to note that the "Prophetic Document" of the Pentateuch in its written form is supposed to belong to the time of the earliest writing prophets, so that the modern view does not, as its opponents say, represent these prophets as springing suddenly into being without any preparation. The spiritual ideas of this second narrative form an atmosphere in which a simple noble prophet might breathe freely. The narrative no doubt presupposes traditional material, which had circulated a long time among the Hebrew people; the original colours are not deadened to the same extent as in the first narrative, but crude, fantastic features have in large measure been cast away, while the poetic charm is retained and made the vehicle of the purest spiritual teaching. The material is here thoroughly Hebraised, though there may be reminiscences of foreign elements and of Israel's earliest days. It comes to us from a time when the people were thoroughly settled in Palestine. We have not space to dwell in detail on the differences between the two narratives and to discuss the many special questions that arise. That is the less necessary, as any one reading them carefully in the ordinary version can see their different treatment of God, man and the world—in the first the transcendent, in the second the anthropomorphic God; in the first man takes his place in the general scheme, in the second he is "formed" and placed in Paradise; in the first the animals are placed under their natural lord, in the second they are grouped round man as his intimate companions; in the first physiological facts are implied in a matter of fact style, in the second they are touched with a poetic pathos which makes us feel the burden of this weary, perplexing life; in brief, the first is a general statement, the second is full of ideas.

Two different treatments of one point in the second narrative may be noticed as giving an example of two different styles of exegesis. Holzinger views the serpent as a mythological feature, "exegetically we must regard the serpent as a beast, not as a demoniac being, an element given in tradition, not an artistic clothing of the lust by which the woman is tempted. The Satan-idea is a post-exilic Jewish one. In the mythological basis, however, the serpent may have been an instrument of a demon hostile to the creating God. If nothing of this can now be traced it shows how energetically the material has been worked over." Whether we accept this conclusion or not, we can appreciate the method of exegesis. The aim of exegesis is to discover the meaning that the writer had in his mind and intended to convey. The question is, when we set the writer in his place in history and take his language in its natural sense, what impression does it convey? We know that in the earlier time from which this document came the supremacy of Jehovah played such a great part in the minds of the religious teachers that heathen demonology would be repulsive to them. We know also that the conception of Satan became prominent in later Jewish theology. We are not now directly concerned with the dogmatic validity of these ideas, but with the correct interpretation of a given document. It seems to us that in the following statement by Dr. Davis, of Princeton, these two things are confused instead of being separately considered. "Eve saw a snake. It is not necessary to suppose that she opined more; but back of the snake was an evil spirit. (Cf. the swine, Mark v. 13.) This was the current interpretation in Israel when insight into religious truth was clear." (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition.*)

Whatever we may make of the details of the second narrative it is a wonderful picture of the coming of sin and sorrow into human life as a result of man's disobedience, the skill and inspiration of the writer are more powerfully manifested in presenting the truth in this concrete form than if he had set forth his faith in so many abstract propositions. The purpose of our brief sketch is attained if we have shown that in these narratives we have a fruitful field for devout study, and that they bring before us in miniature some great questions of Old Testament history and theology.

As to the sources of the original material of the two narratives there is general agreement among scholars that the cosmological basis of chapter I. is closely related to the ancient Babylonian cosmogony. The attempt to prove specifically Babylonian features in the second narrative cannot be said to have been successful. (See article by Dr. Morris Jastrow, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, July 1899). The original material if not of pure Hebrew origin has been thoroughly Hebraised so that it is difficult to trace absolute connection with either Egypt or Babylon. Much skill and strength has been spent on this problem and it is still unsolved, it is an interesting problem no doubt, but its solution is not essential to an understanding of Israel's life.

"It would indeed have been surprising if such similarities had not appeared. The Hebrew people before and after Moses was a member of a larger group of nations, had already for a long time had intercourse with Semitic and non-Semitic people, and had, in its morality and customs as well as in its knowledge and ideas, grown up along with a larger circle of nations. Many of their old mythological ideas betray themselves in various forms long after Moses. Theories about the origin of the world, also, akin to those of the other peoples, must undoubtedly have long continued current among them."

"But it is quite evident that by the Mosaic faith in God those traditionary views as well as the life and thought of the people in other directions must have been purified and transformed, even if already the simpler consciousness of God prevailing in earlier times among the Hebrews had not had its effect. In fact the incomparable pre-eminence of the Biblical narrative lies not in the material sub-structure or physical explanations which it may give, but in the penetration of the traditional matter with the higher faith in God." (Dillmann.)

Dr. Driver also believes in the connection of chapter I. with the Babylonian cosmogony, but that in its present form it "comes at the end of a long process of gradual elimination of heathen elements and of gradual assimilation to the purer teachings of Israelitish theology carried on under the spiritual influence of the religion of Israel;" but we do not think that on this account it is fair to say that he is "hampered by the idea, that

there must be a natural development of religious ideas, from a degrading polytheism through long periods up to a sublime monotheism." (Prof. T. M. Lindsay, *Critical Review*, Jan. 1900, page 36.) These two statements are very different, but to discuss them at length would require a full review of the growth of Israel's religious life. In the one the fact of gradual growth is carefully stated and sympathetically presented, in the other it is put in a way likely to create prejudice and give to the ordinary reader an utterly false impression.

The present attitude of what is called "the Higher criticism," to this and similar problems may perhaps be set forth in the following brief summary. These two narratives which belong to two different documents show traces of revision and addition since they assumed a written form. The written form is based upon traditional material, and this material reflects reminiscences of early mythologies. The remarkable feature is the extent to which the faith and theology of Israel has transformed this early material, informing it with its own ideas and bringing it into harmony with its own life. We have here as elsewhere in the Old Testament a testimony to the tremendous power of Israel's religion, which while partly assimilating some, conquered so many hostile and inferior elements.

If it be asked how such a view affects our idea of inspiration, the answer must be that as the doctrine of evolution modifies the old argument from design, so this treatment of Scripture material leads us to take wider views. Instead of fastening upon small unessential details we must grasp the spirit of the whole. This religion shows in its earliest records a simple comparatively noble view of God, but what is more, it had the life to grow and advance to ever loftier thoughts of the divine; hence its teachers had the power to reject many things that were crude or coarse, and show their strength and wisdom in using their best traditions and purest poetry as vehicles of the loftiest spiritual instruction. Such a religion is inspired in the very deepest sense, for is not inspiration only another name for the purest, highest life? It came from God, it drew to God those who followed its teachings, and it has left to the world a heritage which we cannot prize too highly, and so prepared the way for Him who is the truest revelation of the Eternal Father. "God having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions, and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son."

W. G. JORDAN.

THE RELATIONS OF LEGISLATION AND MORALITY.

FORMAL legislation comes late in the history of most legal systems.

“It is a matter of historical observation that long before any supreme political authority has come into being, a series of practical rules determines the main relations of family life, the conditions of ownership, the punishment of the more violent forms of wrong doing, &c. Maine says codes succeed customary laws at certain stages of progress in each community. According to Plato past time is the maker of states; it is also the maker of laws. The legal rule of to-day is the last link in an historical series.” “Law is the record of human progress, the golden deposit in the stream of time.” Moses is a law-giver not a law-maker. He is the declarer of the Divine Laws and the Divine Judgments. To his own people he is their discoverer. Says the latest writer on this subject, “The truth must not be pressed too far, but a truth it is that even now, law is rather a thing to be discovered than a thing to be made. Law is made unconsciously by the men whom it concerns. It is the deliberate result of human experience working from the known to the unknown, a little bit of knowledge won from ignorance, of order from Chaos.”

And the radical defect in some of our legislation is that the legislator has not discovered the law which he is trying to formulate in a statute. Do these observations apply to legislation affecting morality? Spencer holds that there is “an ideal code formulating the behaviour of the completely adapted man to the completely evolved society.”

Are then the laws of good living to be discovered before they can be declared?

Lecky points out that a Roman of the age of Pliny, an Englishman of the age of Henry 8th, and an Englishman of our own day would all agree that humanity is a virtue and its opposite a vice, but their judgments of the Acts which are compatible with a humane disposition would be widely different. A humane man of the first period might derive a keen enjoyment from those gladiatorial games which an Englishman even in the days of the

Tudors, would regard as atrociously barbarous and this last would in his turn acquiesce in many sports which would now be emphatically condemned. Our moral progress has been slow and gradual. The institution of marriage, of the family, the idea of human freedom and property, are the product of ages of time. Almost within our own time the immorality of slavery has been discovered. In 1776 the British House of Commons debated a resolution that the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man, and the resolution was lost. It took nearly half a century of agitation to carry the abolition of slavery in the British Empire.

It has been said that the growth of every moral sentiment begins in the minds of thoughtful men, spreads from them to the Community, and finally becomes embodied in the law of the land. It was so in regard to slavery. Wilberforce and other thoughtful men devoted themselves to the cause. They awakened the people of England to the enormity of the evil and finally triumphed in the legislature. The history of prison reform is similar and other instances might be adduced showing the same sequence of movement.

Lecky says there is a natural history of morals, a defined and regular order in which our moral feelings are unfolded—"Our knowledge of the laws of moral progress is like that of the laws of climate. We lay down general rules about the temperature to be expected as we approach or recede from the equator and experience shows that they are substantially correct, but yet an elevated plain or a range of mountains or the neighbourhood of the sea will often in some degree derange our calculations. So to in the history of moral changes, innumerable special agencies such as religious or political institutions, geographical conditions, traditions, antipathies and affinities exercise a certain retarding, accelerating or deflecting influence and somewhat modify the normal progress."—"The moral unity to be expected in different ages is not a unity of standard or of Acts but a unity of tendency."

The same act may be regarded in one age as innocent, in another as criminal.

If we look through the British Statutes from the reign of Henry 3 to the time of George 3, we find comparatively little

legislation on moral questions apart from the Criminal Law proper. The only subjects dealt with are the Liquor Traffic, the Lord's Day, Gambling, Profanity, and Slavery. There was more legislation regarding heresy, up to the reign of William 3 than on any moral question. Slavery is a dead issue as regards our own time and country and the legislation respecting gambling and profanity might not prove a fruitful subject of investigation for our purpose. The two matters in connection with which the relations of legislation and morality may be studied with most profit are the Liquor Traffic and the Lord's Day.

Blasphemy is still unlawful. By a statute of 9 and 10 William 3 to deny the Trinity or to deny the Christian Religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures to be of Divine Authority is punishable.

53 G. 3 c. 160 excepts from the statute persons denying the Trinity.

In 1867 a lecturer had hired a hall to maintain in his lecture that the Character of Christ is defective, and his teaching misleading, and that the Bible is no more inspired than any other book. The owner of the hall refused, on learning the subject, to permit the lecture, and was sued for breach of contract. The court sustained his refusal, reaffirming the decision of Chief Justice Hale, that Christianity is part of the law of England.

The Commissioners on Criminal Law say that although the law forbids all denial of the being and providence of God or the Christian Religion, it is only when irreligion assumes the form of an insult to God and man, that the interference of the Criminal Law has taken place.

Profane cursing and swearing is made punishable by 19 G. 2 c. 21 which directs the offender to be fined 5s. 2s. or 1s. according as he is a gentleman, below the rank of gentleman or a common labourer, soldier, &c.

There have been laws against gambling since the reign of Henry 8th. They are amended from time to time to check the many ingenious inventions designed to evade them. Regarding gambling, swearing, and slavery there is probably practical unanimity. It is when we come to legislation on the liquor question and the Sunday question that we find serious conflict of opinion amongst thoughtful people.

Two different treatments of one point in the second narrative may be noticed as giving an example of two different styles of exegesis. Holzinger views the serpent as a mythological feature, "exegetically we must regard the serpent as a beast, not as a demoniac being, an element given in tradition, not an artistic clothing of the lust by which the woman is tempted. The Satan-idea is a post-exilic Jewish one. In the mythological basis, however, the serpent may have been an instrument of a demon hostile to the creating God. If nothing of this can now be traced it shows how energetically the material has been worked over." Whether we accept this conclusion or not, we can appreciate the method of exegesis. The aim of exegesis is to discover the meaning that the writer had in his mind and intended to convey. The question is, when we set the writer in his place in history and take his language in its natural sense, what impression does it convey? We know that in the earlier time from which this document came the supremacy of Jehovah played such a great part in the minds of the religious teachers that heathen demonology would be repulsive to them. We know also that the conception of Satan became prominent in later Jewish theology. We are not now directly concerned with the dogmatic validity of these ideas, but with the correct interpretation of a given document. It seems to us that in the following statement by Dr. Davis, of Princeton, these two things are confused instead of being separately considered. "Eve saw a snake. It is not necessary to suppose that she opined more; but back of the snake was an evil spirit. (Cf. the swine, Mark v. 13.) This was the current interpretation in Israel when insight into religious truth was clear." (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition.*)

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Legislation regarding the liquor traffic begins in the reign of Edward 6th.¹ Up to that date there had been free trade in intoxicants, but the policy of restriction was then adopted and has continued ever since. 5 and 6 Edward 6 c. 25 (1532) enacts that Justices of the Peace may put away common selling of ale and beer in ale-houses and tipling-houses, when they shall think meet and convenient, and none after 1st May next shall be suffered to keep any common ale-house but such as shall be thereunto admitted in open sessions by two justices, and the justices are to take bond against using unlawful games and for maintenance of order.

The next year another statute provides that no person shall sell wines in any town not corporate but by the license of the justices of the shire, and the number of such licenses is limited to forty in London, eight in York, and so on.

King James fifty years later follows with an act for the better repressing of ale-houses—"whereof the multitudes and abuses have been and are found intolerable, and still do and are like to increase." In the same session an act is passed for repressing "the odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness." It recites "Whereas the odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness is of late grown into common use within the realm being the root and foundation of many other enormous sins as blood-shed, stabbing, murder, swearing, &c., to the great dishonour of God and of our own nation, the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, the general impoverishment of many good subjects abusively wasting the good creatures of God."

And it enacts that every person "who shall be drunk" shall forfeit 5s.

There is a curious exception in this statute which may possess some academic interest.

It runs thus, "Provided always that this act or anything therein contained shall not be prejudicial to either of the two universities of this land, but that the chancellor, trustees and scholars, &c. may as fully use and enjoy all their jurisdictions, rights, privileges and charters as heretofore they might have done."

Seven years after, (1609) James returns to the subject in an act which recites that "notwithstanding all former laws and

provisions already made, the inordinate and extreme vice of excessive drinking and drunkenness doth more and more abound to the great offence of Almighty God and the wasteful destruction of God's good creatures." It then enacts that any ale-house keeper who violates the statutes regulating this trade shall for the space of three years be utterly disabled to keep such ale-house.

King James in 1623, and King Charles in 1625 pass other acts reiterating the former. In 1627 additional punishment is provided for him who keeps an ale-house without license.

In 1660 King Charles of joyous memory renews the license law as regards wines. No further legislation appears until 1753 (26 G. 2 c. 31) which recites that the laws concerning ale-houses are defective and insufficient for suppressing the abuses and disorders committed therein and for the conviction of persons selling without license and it requires the keeper of an ale-house to give bond with two sureties for the maintenance of good order in his house. No new license is to be granted without certificate that applicant is "of good fame and of sober life and conversation."

In 1774 Canada's first license law was passed by the British Parliament. It provided that for every license to sell liquor that should be granted by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Commander-in-Chief certain duty should be paid.

In 1793 the First Canadian Act is passed. "His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Representatives of the people of the Province of Upper Canada in assembly met do most humbly beseech his Majesty that it may be enacted," and enacted it is, that an additional duty of 20s. be levied on all licenses for the retail of wines or spirituous liquors.

There had been previously an ordinance requiring a bond from the licensee to keep an orderly and decent house, and that is now re-enacted.

In 1819 the regulation of licenses was turned over to Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions.

In 1850 the power of fixing the number of taverns, beer shops, &c., is vested in the municipal authorities, and they are given power to limit the number. Under this act the Township of Darlington passed a by-law to prohibit the opening of any houses for the sale of liquors, but it was held that the municipality had only a power to regulate, not to prohibit.

The municipality step by step from that time forward has obtained complete control of the liquor traffic within it. In 1859 the amendment was made closing all licensed places from Saturday night to Monday morning. Then we have prohibition of sale to minors and apprentices, to weak-minded persons, to intoxicated persons. Scarcely a session of the legislature has passed since 1868, without an amendment tightening the restrictions.

Now drinking saloons have come to final end, and all municipalities have the right to establish prohibition within their own limits. But concurrently with this policy of restriction which has been so steadily pursued up to the present time there have been experiments in total prohibition by means of the statutes known as the Dunkin Act and the Scott Act, but in the majority of the localities where they have been tried, they have been subsequently repealed as unsatisfactory. What then is the lesson of history regarding legislation on this question? I think it is best summed up in the report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic. "The combined system of license and regulation which for centuries has been the rule of civilized nations should not be departed from." It has been said that the history of prohibitory legislation "is that of laws which are generally enacted rather from the high moral ends which they propose than from the sincere and settled judgment of the legislators, and which do not represent the average moral sentiment of the people." XV. *Enc. Britt.* 299.

The great moral progress which has been made in temperance is the result not so much of legislation as of the efforts of the moral reformer in teaching and inspiring self-control. It is here the great victories have been won and one great danger in prohibitory legislation is that it destroys the appeal to the spirit of self-restraint. Prohibition and persuasion will not go hand in hand.

The Royal Commissioners' report says "where prohibition has been adopted in many cases individual effort and the efforts of temperance organizations to promote sobriety have become less efficient." Temperance implies self-restraint and "self-restraint ends when coercion begins." This would seem to be inevitable, and when one considers the splendid achievements of Temperance reform in the past fifty years won by the appeal to

man's own higher moral nature, it is to be regretted that the methods which have proved so successful, have been to some extent dropped. Take this city e.g., in 1860 99 licensed places, to-day 32. For it is greatly to be feared that in abandoning the old weapons for the new the true law of progress is violated. The history of moral advance shows that there is in it a principle of unity and continuity of progress which cannot safely be ignored.

"Law is a thing to be discovered." More and more it has been found that the restriction of the liquor traffic is good and necessary, and legislation advances as discovery proceeds. It has been continuously progressive. Why not continue on this line? "The mills of God grind slowly." A wrong advance involves retreat, which is always more or less demoralizing.

Coming to legislation regarding the Lord's Day, different considerations arise. We are dealing not only with a question of morality but with an institution of the greatest antiquity. The fact of the Lord's Day being one of the great institutions of civilized society cannot be questioned. It is as much so as marriage, the family, liberty, property. As Dr. Goldwin Smith says, it is more than a law; it has become an article of human nature. This institution, so old that its origin is lost in antiquity, for the most part rests on its own impenetrable foundations, but the legislature has from time to time thought proper to guard its integrity against dangers which seemed to threaten it. The essence of the institution has always been rest from ordinary labour. That is the one explicit command in the first legal enactment to protect it of which we possess a record. The one definite thing in the Fourth commandment is "Thou shalt not do any work," and all the legislation which has been passed since Moses' time has aimed at the protection of this essential principle of the institution. Even the much-criticised Lord's Day Alliance of this Province in seeking legislation to-day is seeking this only.

How has legislation dealt with it? Prior to the Reformation, the Church regulated Sabbath observance, and Parliament did not interfere in regard to it. Edward the VI. and Elizabeth

tried to enforce Church attendance but that is subsequently abandoned.

Sunday travel is restricted by an Act of Charles I. and Charles II. passes a statute which in substance has been the law on this subject down to our own day, and the essence of it is that "no tradesman, artificier, workman, labourer or other person whatsoever shall do or exercise any worldly labour, business or work of their ordinary callings on the Lord's Day. This is in 1677. Compare our own statute of 1897.

The aim of legislation then has continuously been to preserve the day of rest to every man, the most recent efforts are no exception. The last contest in the Ontario Legislature arose between the representatives of the Railway and Forwarding Corporations on the one hand, and on the other hand those who desire to obtain the insertion of the word 'corporation' in the Lord's Day Act. Corporations resist this strenuously. Lecky says it is always hazardous to argue from the character of the corporation to the character of the men who compose it. But the great question should be decided by the community at large. If it is wrong for individuals to work on Sunday is it right for corporations? What is a corporation? Any number of individuals not less than five who combine to carry on any business may form a corporation. If the corporations are not to be within the Lord's Day Act, then all men who want to work on Sunday may form themselves into corporations, the bakers, the butchers, the builders, the barbers, &c., and the law becomes a dead letter. The Lord's Day Alliance have been endeavouring to point this out and are asking the legislature to put the law once more where it has been in substance for thousands of years.

This is all they seek. There has been a great deal of misunderstanding and not a little misrepresentation of the facts in this matter, and it is important that they should be clearly understood. It has been said that every institution is a belief, and the belief of society about Sunday has been that one day in seven man should cease from the pursuits of the other days and try to realize his higher self. Wise men have said that the national greatness of England has come "because we have through many ages rested from our labours one day in seven." If this be true, then an institution of so great value, of such vital importance, must ever anew be guarded against all assaults upon its integrity.

If Sunday is an institution of human society handed down from a remote past, if it is "the corner stone of our civilization," it is also the birthright of every citizen, in the possession of which society should guard him for its own sake and his. But it is said that he may part with it for a sufficient consideration. This was doubtless Jacob's justification of his deal with Esau. But if society exists for the realization of the best life—if the highest interests of the whole community are concerned in the moral worth of the men who compose it, and if the Sabbath is necessary to the moral culture of man, then every man should have this day free. It is said that two millions of men in the United States have no Sunday—let us call it one million. If to-day in the United States one million of men have no Sunday, what about their families? What effect is this to have on the next generation? They must reap as we sow. What is the moral result for the community? What is the equivalent in Street railway stock of the solemn stillness of a Sabbath morning? What becomes of the "Cottar's Saturday night" when you take away the cottar's Sabbath?

But some one indignantly exclaims no one proposes to take away the cottar's Sabbath. No, you only propose to take away the engineer's, and the motorman's, and the shoveller's, and the factory hand's, and the new-boy's, and there is no poetry or sentiment about these people. Here again may be invoked the principle of the unity and continuity of tendency in moral progress—the integrity of moral progress. That which has been woven in the warp and woof of our highest life which has been handed down to us from the remotest past in all its integrity, which has done more than any other institution to make us men—do we owe it anything, or shall we let the first gang of corporate banditti in search of plunder despoil it.

It is said that in Canada we have the Puritan Sabbath. It has not come by any design or purpose of man. It is not the result of any legislation, the tide of tendencies has brought it hither. Along with it we have the new economic man. He is not a Sabbatarian, he is not the kind of man for whom the Sabbath was made. If he is allowed to dominate the community, all its interests will be subordinated to his dividends. He will rule us unless we firmly control him. He comes with soft speech

and pleads for the poor man, to be allowed to carry him on Sunday afternoon from the crowded city tenement to the fields and parks for fresh air, although the poor man answers that he has not the needful car-tickets and would therefore prefer to walk. Mr. Vanderbilt said a few years ago that his railway was not run in the interest of the 'dear public,' but to earn dividends. This was a perfectly accurate statement, and contains a universal truth as regards the new economic man. He is purely and solely a dividend-earning creature.

What ought to be done? The principle of the Sunday law which has stood for ages is cessation of daily toil. Sunday free from toil is the birthright of each citizen. A certain amount of necessary labour is unavoidable. If any modification of this law is to be made it should be made by the community, deliberately and consciously, and only on the initiative of the government of the day; certainly not in the interest, or at the instance, of any corporation. If a certain number of our fellow citizens are to lose their day of rest in the public interest let them be avowedly sacrificed to the public interest by the community. If a man gives up his Sunday for his fellow citizens at the call of duty, he is not morally injured, whereas if he does so for selfish gain it cannot but be otherwise. No corporation or organization of any kind should be allowed to exploit the day at its own will for its own purposes.

The conclusion arrived at in this paper is that the Lord's Day is the birth-right of every citizen in the possession of which he has the same claim to protection from society as for any other human right.

What has been the character of our legislation affecting morality?—The suppression of gambling, the restriction of the liquor traffic, the prohibition of Sunday work, the suppression of slavery. It does not suggest any attempt to make men moral by Act of Parliament. It does not touch the liberty of the individual apart from his relation to his fellow citizens and the state. It has regard to the promotion of good citizenship. It deals with man in his relation to the state. Even the statute which punishes a man for being innocently drunk does so on national grounds. But all the rest of the legislation may be shown to be by way of removing and restraining evils which are hindrances to

the best life of the citizen. One is surprised to find how little legislation there has been upon moral questions, and how moral progress has been allowed to make its way, unguided and untrammelled by the legislature.

On the other hand, what is the significance of the legislation that has taken place? What is all legislation? It is the expression of the will of the people, often imperfect and often mistaken and short-sighted, but building always better than it knows, for behind is the Divinity that shapes our ends.

"Law has always been the expression of social force. Whatever views men may have held as to the origin of those rules of conduct which they have felt themselves bound to follow, the force which has compelled their obedience has been the approval or disapproval of the community." It has been said that the ordinary mortal is kept moral by the influence of his surroundings, by the standard of conduct in his set, by the fear of the public opinion, by reverence for the traditions of the past, and by the law of the land. In substance this again means the approval or disapproval of the community. It is when that sentiment of the community is sufficiently strong, active, and definite, that it takes shape in a law, and only then should it do so.

In a community like ours legislation which precedes, or forces, or anticipates, the governing moral sentiment of the people is a mistake. There must be as Westlake says, "A national persuasion or consciousness that a thing is not only morally right but jurally right and proper to be enforced by a man on his fellows." This distinction is in danger of being overlooked. "Proper to be enforced by a man on his fellows"—Here the lawyer stops and makes way for the philosopher.

The philosopher who has spoken last on this subject, (Bosanquet) says, "No general principle will tell us how in particular to solve this subtle question apart from common sense and special experience."

G. M. MACDONNELL.

A NEW POET AND A NEW PLAY.

MAN is by instinct a partisan, and usually extreme in his partisanship. Uncompromising judgments are apt to mark his opinions of all who do not agree with him. In literary criticism, as in other things, men take sides, and woe to him whose work bears not the marks of their standards. "This will never do," said Jeffrey of Wordsworth, a hundred years ago, and the critical spirit of the foremost critic of his time has been that of most of his successors. In praise and in blame alike, they are extravagant—hysterical flattery or absolute condemnation—for the most part there has been no middle course. True, Matthew Arnold did sound a protest, and honestly try to judge men and their works by the standard of the best things in literature rather than by any preconceived literary dogmas, but even he was too prone to include under the scornful name of Philistines all who saw not eye to eye with him.

So sure is the critic of the soundness of his judgment that he often gets into a trick of omniscience, and not content with assigning an author his place in his own age, is pleased to settle it for eternity. But omniscience in mortals is a doubtful quality, and time often leaves the critic sadly in the lurch. Who now reads Martin Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy"? And yet, some thirty years ago, this work went into its fiftieth edition, and a leading critic said, "it will live as long as the English language;" while the *Spectator* assured its readers that "he has won for himself the vacant throne waiting for him among the immortals, and * * * * * has been adopted into the same rank with Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning."

I hope a similar fate does not await England's latest literary lion, Stephen Phillips, but certainly the reviewers seem to have combined to praise him almost as Tupper was praised. Of his "Paolo and Francesca," the *Saturday Review* says, "It unquestionably places Mr. Phillips in the front rank of modern dramatists and of modern poets. It does more, it proclaims his kinship with the aristocrats of his art, with Sophocles and Dante. * * * * * He has given us a masterpiece of dramatic art, which has at once, the severe restraint of Sophoclean tragedy,

the plasticity, passion, and colour of our own romantic tragedy, a noble poem to brood over in the study, a dramatic spectacle which cannot fail to enthrall a popular audience and which would in mere stage effect, have done credit to the deftest of modern play-wrights. He has produced a work for which I have little doubt Mr. Alexander will have cause to thank him, and a work which would, I have as little doubt, have found favour with the judges who crowned the 'Antigone' and the 'Philoctetes.' "

Such extravagant flattery, is surely the result of an emotional spasm which has momentarily paralysed the critic's sense of proportion. Before considering the play however, let us glance at some of poet's earlier work.

His chief interest is humanity, and certainly his work gives evidence that he has a natural gift for discerning the subtleties of character and reading the secrets of the soul. He loves, for instance, to pick out a face from the crowd on the streets of London and reveal the thoughts and emotions it but half conceals. Some of his efforts show the prentice hand, and while striking are not poetic, but his later work proves this to be merely the fault of youth. Indeed, the steady advance in the power and poetic quality of his work is its most promising characteristic. The tragedy of human life, and the faith which overcomes it, especially appeal to him and find expression in several poems, of which, perhaps, the finest is "The Wife," a gruesome but powerful tale. His two most ambitious efforts previous to "Paolo and Francesca," were "Christ in Hades" and "Marpessa." The former elaborates a striking conception of Christ's relation to man and the sorrow it involves for Him. There are several fine passages, notably that in which Prometheus foretells the sorrows of Christ. But the blank verse moves a bit stiffly as yet, and there is a certain lack of felicity in the working out of the idea.

"Marpessa" is a Greek Idyll, based on Marpessa's choice of a lover. Apollo and Idas are rivals for her hand, and she chooses the mortal. The form of the poem is evidently suggested by the famous passage in Tennyson's "Ænone," describing the award of the apple of discord. The sentiments expressed, particularly Marpessa's reasons for her choice, are modern rather than Greek, but perhaps not more so than Athene's speech in

Tennyson. The imagery and setting are Greek, while the execution is always delicate, and often exquisite. The verse is flexible and musical, yet dignified—hardly the verse yet of 'Paolo and Francesca,'—but an immense advance on the earlier fragments.

There is a fine magic of style in Apollo's speech, which stirs the fancy; look for instance at the free mastery of rhythm in the following lines, and the large phrase, warm, ethereally imaginative like that of Keats :—

"We two in heaven dancing,—Babylon
Shall flash and murmur, and cry from under us,
And Nineveh catch fire, and at our feet
Be hurled with her inhabitants, and all
Adoring Asia kindle and hugely bloom ;—
We two in heaven running,—continents
Shall lighten, ocean unto ocean flash,
And rapidly laugh till all this world is warm."

Idas' avowal of love is one of the finest passages in the book,—a few lines will serve to indicate the subtle suggestion and delicate phrasing which picture so finely to the imagination, the intangible charm of Marpessa.

"Not for this only do I love thee, but
Because Infinity upon thee broods ;
And thou art full of whispers and of shadows.
Thou meanest what the sea has striven to say
So long, and yearned up the cliffs to tell ;
Thou art what all the winds have uttered not,
What the still night suggesteth to the heart.
Thy voice is like to music heard ere birth,
Some spirit lute touched on a spirit sea ;
Thy face remembered is from other worlds,
It has been died for, though I know not when,
It has been sung of, though I know not where,
It has the strangeness of the luring West,
And of sad sea-horizons ;"

Before passing to the tragedy, just one more quotation to illustrate another side of Mr. Phillips' talent. It is a love lyric, but in form it is the old lyric of the ciseleur school of France, the lyric of *Blaudelaire*, somewhat modified and perhaps enriched by the sentiment of the aesthetic school ; it is deftly wrought though perhaps too dependent on that trick of iteration. There

is a touch of the same school in the sentiment too, a sick longing bred, I suspect, more of the fancy than the heart.

O to recall!

O to recall!

What to recall?

What to recall?

All the roses under snow?

All the greenness after rain?

Not these.

Not this.

Stars that toward the water go?

Joy that gleameth after pain?

Not these.

Not this.

O to recall!

O to recall!

What to recall?

What to recall?

Not the greenness nor delight,

Not the star in waters red,

Not these;

Not this:

Not the roses out of sight,

Laughter of a girl that's dead,

Not these.

O this!

'Paolo and Francesca' is a poetic tragedy in four acts written for the stage, at the request of Mr. Alexander, who is presenting it at his London theatre. It possesses the directness and simplicity necessary for successful stage production, is life-like in its action, and above all, has a clear, tragic plot-interest of sufficient depth and intensity to hold the attention and touch the sensibilities of the ordinary theatre audience. It is not a mere study play therefore. The theme is old, and yet ever new—it is that form of love which since the days of David and Bathsheba has offered perhaps the most fascinating inspiration to the poet and to the dramatist—the love for another man's wife.

Mr. Phillips is a bold man indeed to seek success with a subject to which Dante has given a setting for all time. It is the story of the lovers whose unhappy fate and lasting devotion so deeply touched the Italian poet. With his wonderful directness and brevity Dante tells their tale in a few lines.

"Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learnt,
Entangled him by that fair form, from me
Ta'en in such cruel sort, as grieves me still:
Love, that denial takes from none beloved,
Caught me with pleasing him so passing well,
That, as thou seest, he yet deserts me not.
Love brought us to one death: Caina waits
The soul who spilt our life."

cries Francesca, and then to the poet's eager questioning she answers

“ One day,
 For our delight we read of Launcelot,
 How him love thrall'd. Oft-times by that reading
 Our eyes were drawn together, and the hue
 Fled from our alter'd cheek. But at one point
 Alone we fell. When of that smile we read,
 The wished smile so rapturously kiss'd
 By one so deep in love, then he, who ne'er
 From me shall separate, at once my lips
 All trembling kiss'd. The book and writer both
 Were love's purveyors. In its leaves that day
 We read no more.”

Many others have tried the story, with but slight success. Mr. Phillips has chosen to treat it with the utmost simplicity, and throughout the play, there is a sense of calmly wielded power, of strength held in reserve which is admirable. The play opens abruptly, and from the first there is an atmosphere of impending tragedy which lends a sober background to the beauty of the action. The consciousness of fate grows upon one as the plot, swiftly and without unnecessary words, unfolds itself. One finds here the strong influence of Greek tragedy, so evident in the earlier volume. The dramatist never allows himself the pleasure of a poetic outburst, for the mere beauty of the poetry. Every speech springs from the action and is necessary for its development. On the other hand he does not bind himself by all the laws of classic drama. The influence of Shakespeare is evident in the lighter relief scenes, in the prose of the commonplace speeches and in the freedom and flexibility of the blank verse.

There are but four characters of much importance in the play :—Giovanni the stern warrior and ruler who would fain rest, but cannot, because

“ Though I have sheathed the sword I am not tamed.
 What I have snared, in that I set my teeth
 And lose with agony; when hath the prey
 Writhed from our mastiff-fangs ?”

and his younger brother, Paolo, the handsome young soldier of fortune whom Giovanni loves with all the warmth of a strong nature, confined for sentiment to this love alone.

“ We are, Francesca,
 A something more than brothers—fiercest friends :

Concordia was our mother named, and ours
Is but one heart, one honour, and one death."

Then there is Francesca, pledge of peace between the tyrants
of Rimini and Ravenna; a maid

"All dewy from her convent fetched,"

a beautiful child who

"— hath but wondered up at the white clouds;
Hath just spread out her hands to the warm sun;
Hath heard but gentle words and cloister sounds."

Lastly, there is Lucrezia, a childless widow, cousin to Giovanni,
and hitherto his faithful house-keeper. She is a bitter, disappointed woman "Childless and husbandless, yet bitter-true."

The story is briefly this:—Giovanni, tyrant of Rimini, a famous soldier tiring of strife, makes peace with Ravenna, and to cement the alliance, arranges a marriage with Francesca, the young daughter of the Tyrant of Ravenna. Busy with affairs of State, he sends his younger brother Paolo to conduct his bride to her new home. It is the old story of Launcelot and Guinevere, each learns unconsciously to love the other. Paolo realises this, and true to his brother, seeks escape, on a pretext of war, but Giovanni demands that he remain and takes every opportunity of bringing the young pair together.

"I'd have you two as dear now to each other
As both of you to me."

They fight bravely their growing passion, but fate is against them. We feel that their struggle is vain and we love and pardon them, even as Giovanni did while he killed them.

The blank verse is handled with a flexibility and in the supreme moments with a nervous energy, that is most effective.

Gio. (Slowly releasing her arm.)

Ah, gradual nature! let this thought come slow!

Accustom me by merciful degrees

To this idea, which henceforth is my home:

I am strong—yet cannot in one moment think it.

Luc. (Softly.) You speak as in a trance.

Gio. Bring me not back!

Like one that walks in sleep, if suddenly

I wake, I die. (With a cry.) Paolo! Paolo!

Luc. Giovanni!

Gio. Paolo! ah, no, not there!
 Not there, where only I was prone to love!
 Beautiful wast thou in the battle, boy!
 We came from the same womb, and we have slept
 Together in the moonbeams! I have grown
 So close to him, my very flesh doth tear!
 Why, why, Lucrezia, I have lifted him
 Over rough places—he was but a child,
 A child that put his hand in mine! I reel—
 My little Paolo! (He swoons off.)

The moulding of those opening lines and the psychological depth of passion they express are an evident reminiscences of the great master of dramatic language.

There are passages, of quieter beauty too, where we find the melody and tender grace which Tennyson first gave to blank verse.

Pao. (Reading.) "Now on that day it chanced that Launcelot,
 Thinking to find the King, found Guenevere
 Alone; and when he saw her whom he loved,
 Whom he had met too late, yet loved the more;
 Such was the tumult at his heart that he
 Could speak not, for her husband was his friend,
 His dear familiar friend: and they two held
 No secret from each other until now;

Several of the critics rank the play along with those of Shakespeare, but this is adulation run wild. "Paolo and Francesca" is an admirable work and of uncommon merit. It is, however, the work of a young man who while he promises great things must as yet confine himself within somewhat narrow limits both as regards dramatic movement and range of characterization. One misses, for instance, the wealth of close living characterization in Shakespeare. But four characters are at all carefully drawn; the rest are mere shadows. Then the plot is kept studiously free from those secondary intrigues and episodes which so add to the richness and interest of the older dramatist. Again, Shakespeare gives us not merely the plot, but a comprehensive picture of the time—its very life and thought, the questions and conflicts which then set men at variance. But here there is none of all that. The one deep ethical problem is sufficient, and fascinating enough it proves as the plot thickens.

Without foolishly belauding it, the play deserves the highest commendation. While filled with passages of rare power and beauty, it maintains throughout, a level excellence, that is exceedingly high. There is no bathos, and but little that is commonplace. The poet holds himself well in hand, never talks at the top of his voice and gives the impression always, of self control and power in reserve.

I know of few more moving passages, than the cry of the lonely Lucrezia.

“ My husband dead and childless left,
My thwarted woman-thoughts have inward turned,
And that vain milk like acid in me eats.
Have I not in my thought trained little feet
To venture, and taught little lips to move
Until they shaped the wonder of a word ?
* * * * *

I am a woman, and this very flesh
Demands its natural pangs, its rightful throes,
And I implore with vehemence these pains.
I know that children wound us, and surprise
Even to utter death, till we at last
Turn from a face to flowers : but this my heart
Was ready for these pangs, and had foreseen.
O ! but I grudge the mother her last look
Upon the cofined form—that pang is rich—
Envy the shivering cry when gravel falls.
And all these maimed wants and thwarted thoughts,
Eternal yearning, answered by the wind,
Have dried in me belief and love and fear.
I am become a danger and a menace,
A wandering fire, a disappointed force,
A peril—do you hear, Giovanni?—O !
It is such souls as mine that go to swell
The childless cavern cry of the barren sea,
Or make that human ending to night-wind.

That is a true cry from a heart, sick with the yearning of a great desire unsatisfied. In contrast, note the lyrical swing and power of the picture of two souls in an ecstasy of satisfied love, defying alike human and divine vengeance. The passage indeed is a bold *absolvitur* pronounced by the young poet from the penalty

to which the stern justice of Dante dooms the pair in the Inferno.*

Pao. "What can we fear, we two?
 O God, Thou seest us Thy creatures bound
 Together by that law which holds the stars
 In palpitating cosmic passion bright;
 By which the very sun enthrals the earth.
 And all the waves of the world faint to the moon.
 Even by such attraction we two rush
 Together through the everlasting years.
 Us, then, whose only pain can be to part,
 How wilt Thou punish? For what ecstasy
 Together to be blown about the globe!
 What rapture in perpetual fire to burn
 Together!—where we are in endless fire.
 There centuries shall in a moment pass,
 And all the cycles in one hour elapse!
 Still, still together, even when faints Thy sun,
 And past our souls Thy stars like ashes fall,
 How wilt Thou punish us who cannot part?"

Franc. I lie out on your arm and say your name—
 "Paolo!" "Paolo!"

Pao. "Francesca!"

How those last broken sighings, of passionate delight melt upon the ear, and sink into the heart! He has a dainty touch in description too, this artist of the soul, and seems to have caught something of Dante's pregnant brevity, with a sweetness all his own.

Pao. "How fades the last
 Star to the East: a mystic breathing comes:
 And all the leaves once quivered, and were still.

Franc. It is the first, the faint stir of the dawn.

Pao. So still it is that we might almost hear
 The sigh of the sleepers in the world.

Franc. And all the rivers running to the sea."

The closing scene, has been criticised as too quiet and re-

*The stormy blast of hell
 With restless fury drives the spirits on,
 Whirl'd round and dashed amain with sore annoy.

Inferno, Canto V.

strained after the intense passion immediately before, but here again, Mr. Phillips has preferred clasical to more modern models, and the result justifies his decision. He scorns the factitious aid of the curtain at the supreme moment, and sinks to a quieter key at the close. After killing the lovers, Giovanni breaks into a wild frenzy but grows gradually calm and closes in a tone of sad reverie.

In his madness he calls in all the servants and sends some to bring in the bodies, then as he rushes wildly about, he cries :

"The curse, the curse of Cain !

A restlessness has come into my blood.
And I begin to wander from this hour
Alone for evermore.

Luc. (Rushing to him.) Giovanni, say
Quickly some light thing, lest we both go mad !

Gio. Be still ! A second wedding here begins,
And I would have all reverent and seemly :
For they were nobly born, and deep in love.

(Enter blind Angela, slowly.)

Ang. Will no one take my hand ? Two lately dead
Rushed past me in the air. O ! Are there not
Many within this room all standing still ?
What are they all expecting ?

Gio. Lead her aside :
I hear the slow pace of advancing feet.

(Enter servants bearing in Paolo and Francesca dead upon a litter.)

Luc. Ah ! ah ! ah !

Gio. Break not out in lamentation !

(A pause.....The servants set down the litter.)

Luc. (Going to litter) I have borne one child, and she
has died in youth !

Gio. (Going to litter) Not easily have we three come to this—
We three who now are dead. Unwillingly
They loved, unwillingly I slew them. Now
I kiss them on the forehead quietly.

(He bends over the bodies and kisses them on the forehead. He is shaken.)

Luc. What ails you now ?

Gio. She takes away my strength.

I did not know the dead could have such hair.

Hide them. They look like children fast asleep !

(The bodies are reverently covered over.)

E. R. PEACOCK.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Philosophical Theory of the State. By BERNARD BOSANQUET. London : Macmillan & Co. New York : The Macmillan Co. 1899.

This is the most recent, and on the whole the best, exposition of the idealistic conception of the State. It is described by the author as an application to the modern nation-state of the fundamental idea applied by Plato and Aristotle to the Greek city-state. Its main problem is the solution of the "paradox" of self-government, a problem which it seeks to solve without having recourse to such inadequate conceptions as "contract", "natural rights," etc. What will at once strike the reader is the sympathetic way in which the author interprets the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau, in whom he sees the working of a new and higher conception of society. Most writers, with the exception of Professor Ritchie in his admirable *Natural Rights* and the late Professor Wallace in his *Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics*, have treated Rousseau as a pure individualist "in the worst sense of the term." Mr. Bosanquet shows conclusively how inadequate and misleading this view is. Perhaps one might even say that he has somewhat idealised Rousseau, a full treatment of whom demands an exhibition of the inadequacy of the ideas which he applies in explanation of the State, not less than insistence upon the essential truth of his conception of the "general will" as distinguished from the "will of all". Mr. Bosanquet, however, sins in the right direction: it is easy enough to show that the "state of nature" and the whole theory of a "social contract" are fictions ; but, after all, what is of main importance is the new conception of society of which Rousseau was the half unconscious exponent.

The State, as Mr. Bosanquet contends, is not an aggregate of individuals, as Mill and others conceived of it : it is the true reality, because only in their union with one another are individ-

uals what their essential nature demands. Hence, when the individual sets up the claims of immediate desire against the demands of his true or social self, it is justifiable that he should be "forced to be free." The "force" upon which the State is based is the "force" of reason. This gives us the general law, that the State may, and indeed should, compel the individual to obey his "real will," as distinguished from what he immediately desires. The distinction is well brought out by a striking illustration of Mr. Bosanquet's. "Let us suppose that Themistocles had been beaten in the Athenian assembly when he proposed that, instead of dividing the revenue from the silver mines among all the citizens, they should devote this revenue annually to building a fleet—the fleet which fought at Salamis. It is easy to see that in such a case a relatively ideal end, demanding a certain self-denial, might appear less attractive to all the individuals—each keeping before himself his own separate share of profit—than the accustomed distribution of money. And if such a view had gained the day, history would never have told, and no free Europe would have existed to understand, by what decision the true general will and common interest of Athens might have transcended the aggregate private interests of all her citizens." (p. 115.)

Applying this principle, Mr. Bosanquet discusses, among other things, the limits of State interference and the system of rights and punishment. The former question is so much a matter of practical politics that no general rule can be laid down. Mr. Bosanquet is quite successful in showing that the danger of State interference does not lie in the intrusion of something originated by "others," as Mill supposes, but "in the intrusion, upon a growing unity of consciousness, of a medium hostile to its growth." But, while this is true, it does not seem to me that the author helps us very much in the solution of particular problems,—say, the proposed imposition of a Prohibitory Liquor Law—though it may perhaps be fairly argued that such a law is excluded on the principle that the use of force by the State is unjustifiable when it is hostile to the growth of the higher self-consciousness. This seems to me a much more defensible position than that which Mr. Bosanquet assigns, viz., that "the State is in its right when it forcibly hinders hindrance to the best life or common good." I doubt whether the Kantian distinction between *promotion* and *hindrance* of "the best life" can be consistently maintained. Is Prohibition, for example, positive or negative? An advocate of it may surely argue with a fair show of reason that, in removing the temptation to the vice of intoxication, the State would as much positively "promote" the "best life" as it does by removing the "hindrance" of ignorance

by education. The rehabilitation of this distinction between "promotion" and "hindrance" of the common good therefore seems to me unfortunate. Mr. Bosanquet would have done better to insist upon the principle that the State should not employ force, the only instrument at its command, when it would thereby endanger the "growing unity of consciousness."

Much more satisfactory is the discussion of the system of rights and of rewards and punishments though it may be doubted whether a more precise classification of criminals is not required. In general it may be said that the author is always instructive, and always able to give a reason for his beliefs. Every intelligent citizen ought to be familiar with a work of such force and comprehensiveness. He will not find in it a ready-made answer to all political problems, but he will find what is much better, the discussion of the principles by which those problems ought to be solved. Were one disposed to be over-critical, he might object to Mr. Bosanquet's view that political philosophy did not exist between the time of the Greek city-state and the rise of the modern nation-state. Is such a work as Dante's *De Monarchia* or Machiavelli's *Prince* to be ruled out? Or does Mr. Bosanquet assume that the "nation state" is the ultimate unit? This assumption would hardly be admitted by the modern Imperial Federationist, or even by those who believe in the English Empire in any form.

JOHN WATSON.

The Old Faith and the New Philosophy. By G. J. Low, D.D., Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa, and Rector of Trinity Church, Billings' Bridge. Toronto; William Briggs, 1900.

It is a pleasure to find attempts being made in Canada to render the old faith consonant with new thought and knowledge. Dr. Low is to be congratulated on bearing a part in such efforts, and on the markedly progressive spirit he evidences. These efforts are not a day too soon. Principal Grant furnishes an admirable Introduction, in which he has wise words to say of needless breaks with the past, as well as of blind unthinking adherence to past phrase and precedent. Everyone will cordially endorse his sentiment that there should be "the utmost freedom for scholarship and thought," godliness with "brotherly kindness and mutual trust."

Dr. Low's work suffers from being addressed to the clergy, rather than the work of a theological thinker, cleaving out a path for his own thought through untraversed regions. But it has the compensation that it will be more widely read in its present form. It appears to me that Dr. Low would have made his work

yet more serviceable and effective, if he had cast the New Philosophy into relation with the Old Faith, as that faith existed half a century ago, and not in the days of the Nicene Creed. Men are not in these days drawn to the abstract and metaphysical Nicene symbols. We do not believe in the "Voicelessness" of the Church in any sense which would make Dr. Low's procedure in going back to the Nicene Creed necessary, and indeed we are glad to find that Dr. Low practically pursues this more excellent way, at least to a large extent. In his Introductory Chapter one is surprised to find certain relevant and helpful works omitted from those recommended. Here, too, many will not agree with Canon Low's saying that Drummond's phrase about Natural Law projecting itself into the Spiritual World is a "happy" one: we should sooner speak of Spiritual Law projecting itself into the Natural World. The second Chapter—on the Trinity—exhibits more power, and deals with points difficult as they are interesting. Dr. Low devotes himself mainly to Nature and God, content to remark the littleness of man before the vastness of Nature. Now it seems to me that Dr. Low would have realized more of the reconciler's function here, had he adopted another method. If, in the triad—Nature, Man, and God—he had taken Man as the crown and terminal fact of creation, he might have found him such a real moral personality as would have needed a correlative in God, the Infinite Moral Personality. Even Pascal was able to do for us here what neither Huxley nor Spencer has done—and what neither of them has undone—in bringing out the superiority of man, as "thinking reed," to the material universe. He could thus have shewn how the Theist accepts the Absolute of Spencer, and proceeds, on rational and spiritual grounds, to interpret it in terms of that Infinite Personality whom men call God. The analogies to the Trinity and the Holy Ghost which Dr. Low draws, in very clear and expressive form, from the scientific armoury, will have their effective force variously estimated by different minds, even though no one doubts the analogy between revealed religion and the constitution of Nature.

The first part of Chapter four—on The Person of Christ—would have had increased cogency and force, had Dr. Low concentrated attention more on shewing how the Incarnate Lord is the goal and culmination of all the world's antecedent processes of history and creation, and how this Divine Person is of cosmical significance. The second part of the chapter—on The Work of Christ—contains many needed correctives to current modes of presentation. But why should Dr. Low be here found "simply reverting" to Greek thought "back of a Latinized Christianity?" No doubt, writers like Prof. Allen and Bishop

Westcott encourage this attitude, but it is quite indefensible. Greek thought could not be such a resting place; it is too ill-defined and vague for that; Latinized Christianity had its own necessary work to do; we have more to do than "simply revert" to one or other of these: the true task of theology clearly is, to make a spiritual synthesis which shall in the deepest way take up into itself the truest elements in both.

It is really in compliment to Dr. Low's work that we have indicated some of the respects in which it could be made yet more effective. For, the reconstructive efforts of to-day carry, in our view, a prime value and significance, and must therefore be done in the best and strongest manner possible—a task always difficult of accomplishment. We hope Dr. Low's work will be widely read, and that he will give us work still more mature.

JAMES LINDSAY.

EARLY RECORDS OF ONTARIO.

(Continued from January number.)

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN

23RD JAN. 1798.

Present :—R. Cartwright, J. ———, P. VanAlstine, A. Spencer, J. W. Myers, A. Fisher, T. Dorland, C. Gilbert, J. Miller, P. Smith.

Henry Spencer of Richmond is appointed to seal measures.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that the sum of Eighteen Pounds be levied by assessment from the Counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland, for Member's wages.

MONDAY, 19TH MARCH, 1798, AT A SPECIAL SESSIONS.

Present :—R. Cartwright, Thos. Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Esqrs.

[Apportionment of work to road overseers.]

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, TUESDAY

THE 24TH APRIL, 1798.

Present :—R. Cartwright, Wm. Atkinson, R. Clark, Alex Fisher, T. Markland, D. Wright.

The Commission of the Peace was openly read. The Sheriff returned the Precept. The Grand Jury was called and sworn.

Robt. McCawlay, foreman, J. Cumming, Wm. Robins, T. Fraser, N. Briscoe, Wm. Fairfield Jun'r, M. Hawley, J. Miller,

F. Hugh, I. Hawley, G. Carscallen, J. Williams, J. Sharpe, C. Park, E. Phillip, W. Bell.

APRIL 26.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that a full [rate] be levied from the Midland District for the year 1798.

It is ordered that in future the salary of the Gaoler shall be £25 annually.

The Sheriff paid the fines of Micajah Purdy, and Barnabas Hough, Constables for non-attendance, eight dollars.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that the sum of Twelve Pounds Four Shillings and Tenpence Half-penny, be paid to the Sheriff of the Midland District.

That the sum of Fifteen Pounds be allowed to Allan McLean Clerk of the Peace.

That the sum of 13 Shillings be allowed to the town clerk of Fredericksburgh, Wm. Bell.

That the sum of 15 Shillings be allowed to the town clerk of Kingston, Jos. Pritchard.

That the sum of Ten Shillings be allowed the town clerk of Adolphus Town.

[Various other sums for objects not specified.]

Constables to serve for the year 1798 to April 1st, 1799.

[List similar to those already given.]

In pursuance of the statute a Jury was called to ascertain the value and damage done to Jno. Hart by altering and making a road through his improved ground.

Jury called and sworn.

The Court, having heard the evidence, charged the jury.

The Jury withdrew to consider of their verdict, and, having returned into Court, by their foreman Nicholas Amy, find the sum of Five Pounds due to John Hart in consequence of the alteration of the road through his improved ground.¹

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN,

JULY 10TH, 1798.

¹ By section IV. of 33rd Geo. III., Cap. IV., provision was made for the alteration of roads, where the necessity for it is sworn to by the majority of a jury of twelve principal freeholders of the District, summoned on the warrant of two Justices. Section VII of the same Act provides for the making of recompense to the owners of enclosed or improved lands, through which the altered road may pass. The Road Commissioners are authorized to agree with the owners as to the amount of recompense to be made, and in case they are unable to agree, the matter is to be referred to a jury of twelve persons empaneled in the usual manner.

Magistrates present :—A. Fisher, J. Miller, P. Smith, T. Dorland, P. VanAlstine, B. Crawford, A. Chisholm.

[Grand Jury sworn as usual.]

On application of Slight Sage, he is permitted by the Magistrates in session to keep a ferry across the river Nappane.

Foot passengers to pay 3d.

Horse and man 7d.

On application of John Smith he is permitted to keep a ferry from Murray at

8d. for a man and horse.

4d. for a foot passenger ¹

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, 9TH OCT. 1798.

Present :—R. Cartwright, T. Markland, A. Fisher, Wm. Atkinson.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in session that the sum of twenty-eight pounds ten shillings be allowed to Mr. David M. Rogers for his wages as member for the County of Prince Edward and part of the County of Lenox.

A warrant issued to Mr. John Cannon high Constable for ditto.

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HOLDEN AT ADOLPHUS TOWN,
22ND JANUARY, 1799.

Present :—A. Fisher, B. Crawford, A. Chisholm, J. W. Myers, S. Sherwood, J. Embury, J. Stinson, Jr, P. VanAlstine, A. Clarke, R. Clarke, A. Spencer, T. Thomson, D. Wright.

[A large docket disposed of during three days.]

AT A SPECIAL SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, 25TH MARCH, 1799.

Present :—Richard Cartwright, Thomas Markland, Esqs.

[Apportionment of roads for overseers.]

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON THE
23D APRIL, 1799.

Magistrates present :—R. Cartwright, A. Fisher, T. Thomson, Wm. Atkinson, Thos. Markland.

On application of James Cannon, a bound apprentice to

¹ Up to 1797 no regulation had been made as to ferries, which in a region like that of the Midland District were necessarily numerous. In that year, however, an Act was passed (37th Geo. III. Cap. X) which authorized the Justices in Quarter Sessions to make and ordain such rules and regulations as should be deemed necessary and proper to be observed by persons keeping ferries, and also to establish and assess the rates or fees to be taken for ferrying. A table of these fees was to be posted up at the ferrying place, and penalties were appointed for overcharging.

Emmerson Busby a hatter of the town of Kingston, praying to be discharged from his indenture for want of sufficient food, and that he is employed as a servant and not at the trade of a hatter.

Mr. Peters counsel for James Cannon.

It appearing to the Magistrates in session that no regular process had issued from the Court, they could not take cognizance of the complaint until the opposite party had notice. But Mr. Hagerman as Counsel for Emmerson Busby, undertaking that he should be present to-morrow, the Magistrates did not issue any process to bring the said Emmerson Busby before them in session.

WEDNESDAY, 24TH.

James Cannon appeared.

Emmerson Busby appeared to answer to the complaint of the said James Cannon, and having proved nothing whereby to clear himself of the said complaint, but, on the contrary, the said James Cannon having given full proof of the truth of the said complaint to the satisfaction of the said Court. We, therefore, whose hands and seals are hereunto set, being four of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Midland District in Sessions assembled, do order, pronounce and declare that the said apprentice shall be, and is hereby discharged and freed from the said apprenticeship, because it appears in evidence that the said apprentice has been employed by his said master Emmerson Busby rather as domestic drudge than in learning his trade, and further because he does [not] appear to have been provided with sufficient food.

And this is to be a final order betwixt the said master and apprentice, anything contained in their indentures of apprenticeship otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given under our hands and seals at Kingston, 24th April,
1799

R. Cartwright,
W. Atkinson,
T. Markland,
T. Thomas.¹

It is ordered by the Magistrates in sessions that a full rate be levied for the year 1799.

¹ The authority for this action of the Justices was derived directly from the famous Statute of Labourers, 5th Eliz. Cap. IV. Section 35, which provides that on complaint being made to a Justice of the Peace by an apprentice, against his master, the master may be required to appear at the next Sessions of the Peace; "And upon

25TH.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in sessions that the following sums be paid by the Treasurer of the District :

James Williams	-	-	-	-	-	£3	9	5d.
William Coffin	-	-	-	-	-	1	16	0
Town Clerk County of Addington and Ontario						15	0	
John Cannon	-	-	-	-	-	29	17	3
M. McLean	-	-	-	-	-	15	0	0
David Williams	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	3
Jos. Anderson	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	4
John Cummings to T. Ferguson, Jun.	-					8	0	1½
D. Plumm	-	-	-	-	-	2	18	0
Thos. Markland	-	-	-	-	-	2	8	0
Robt. Clark	-	-	-	-	-	1	15	0
N. Hagerman	-	-	-	-	-	10	0	0
Leonard Soper	-	-	-	-	-	6	8	0

Constables chosen for the Townships for the ensuing year.

[List follows.]

THE COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN,
THE 9TH JULY, 1799.

Present :—Alex. Fisher, B. Crawford, J. Miller, T. Dorland, J. Peters, J. W. Myers.

[At this session one of the Magistrates, J. W. Myers, defendant in a case, apparently of assault and battery, is found guilty and fined five pounds.]

It is ordered by the Magistrates in sessions that the sum of Fifteen Pounds be levied from the County of Frontenac for member's wages for the year 1797.

[The same sum is levied for 1798, and twenty pounds for 1799, from the County of Frontenac for member's wages.]

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON, 8TH OCT. 1799.

Magistrates Present :—R. Cartwright, A. Fisher, T. Mark- his appearance and hearing of the matter before the said justices, or the said mayor or other head officer, if it be thought meet unto them to discharge the said apprentice of his apprenticeship, that then the said justices, or four of them at the least, where- of one to be of the quorum ; or the said mayor or other head officer, with the as- sent of three of his brethren, or men of best reputation within the said city, town corporate or market-town, shall have power by authority hereof, in writing under their hands and seals, to pronounce and declare, That they have discharged the said apprentice of his apprenticeship, and the cause thereof."

It will be observed that the decision given strictly follows the requirements of this act.

land, T. Thomson, W. Atkinson.

The Magistrates fine James Jackson for non-attendance as a Constable, Twenty Shillings.

COURT HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN, 28TH JANUARY, 1800.

SPECIAL SESSIONS, 24TH MARCH, 1800. [KINGSTON.]

Present:—R. Cartwright, Thos. Markland, Wm. Atkinson.
[Receiving accounts of Road Overseers and assigning work.]

COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS, HELD AT KINGSTON,

22ND APRIL, 1800

Magistrates present:—R. Cartwright, T. Dorland, W. Atkinson, T. Markland, D. Wright, Alex. Clarke. D. Fraser, J. Miller, T. Thomson, J. Booth.

23rd. It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that three-fourths of a rate be levied from the Midland District for the year 1800.

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that a sum not exceeding forty-pounds, be paid by the Treasurer of the Midland District to M. Dorland, M. Fisher, and Peter VanAlstine, Esquires for the use of the Court House in Adolphus Town.

24th. It is ordered that the following sums be paid to the undermentioned persons :

Thomas Markland	-	-	-	-	£61	4	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Titus Fitch	-	-	-	-		12	0
Wm. Ashley	-	-	-	-		18	0
Town Wardens, Kingston	-	-	-	-	23	4	9
John Cannon	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
Geo. Barns	-	-	-	-	1	16	2
John Cannon	-	-	-	-	31	10	0
Town Wardens, Sydney	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
Clerk of the Peace	-	-	-	-	15	0	0
Wm. Coffin	-	-	-	-	1	12	0
R. Cartwright	-	-	-	-	38	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Town Clerk, County of Addington	-	-	-	-	15	0	
“ Marysburgh	-	-	-	-	10	0	
“ Fredericksburgh	-	-	-	-	15	0	
“ Adolphus Town	-	-	-	-	10	0	
“ Kingston and Pittsburgh	-	-	-	-	15	0	
“ Richmond	-	-	-	-	10	0	
Town Wardens, Marysburgh	-	-	-	-	17	9	3

Mr. John Cannon, high Constable for the year ensuing.

[List of township Constables follows.]

COURT OF GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE FOR THE
MIDLAND DISTRICT, HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN ON
TUESDAY, THE 8TH OF JULY, 1800.

Present :—Alex. Fisher, T. Dorland, C. Gilbert, A. Clarke,
J. Miller, D. Wright, A. Spencer, J. Embury.

[Long list of cases of assault and battery disposed of.]

JULY 10TH.

On application of Mr. Robert McDowall, a Presbyterian minister, a certificate was given him agreeably to the act of the Province.¹

COURT OF GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE FOR
THE MIDLAND DISTRICT, HELD AT KINGSTON ON
14TH OCT. 1800.

Present :—Richd Cartwright Esq Chairman, Alex. Fisher, Alex. Clarke, J. Cumming, Arch. McDonell, T. Markland, P. Smith. 15th. It is ordered by the Magistrates in sessions that the sum of twenty-three pounds ten shillings be levied from the

¹ The question as to the form of a legal marriage was one which agitated the Province of Upper Canada from its first settlement. There being no clergymen in the western districts in the earlier days of their history, marriages commonly took place before one or another of the military officers at the various posts. But among the poorer settlers, or those at a considerable distance from the posts, the parties to the marriage sometimes dispensed with any ceremony, and simply "took each other's word for it," as one of them put it. Where, however, any question arose as to the inheriting of property by the children of the early settlers, no marriages but those solemnized by clergymen of the English and Roman Catholic Churches were regarded as legal. (See a Report on the Marriage Law in Upper Canada by Richard Cartwright, Jr., given in full in the Canadian Archives Report for 1891, p. 85.) In order to remedy this hardship, there was introduced in the first session of the first parliament of Upper Canada, a bill to legalize past marriages and make more liberal provision for the future. But Simcoe, regarding the English Church establishment as indispensable in securing the dependence of the colonies on the mother country, strongly opposed the measure. The result was that a compromise act was passed in the following session, 33rd Geo. III Cap. V. This rendered legal all marriages solemnized, according to the forms of the Church of England, by Justices of the Peace, where no clergyman of the Church of England was available within eighteen miles. All dissenting ministers, however, were denied the right to perform legal marriages until 1798, when the act, 38th Geo. III Cap. IV, was passed. In virtue of this act, ministers of the Church of Scotland and Lutheran and Calvinist ministers were allowed to solemnize legal marriages on certain conditions. They were required to appear before at least six Justices in Quarter Sessions, take the oath of allegiance, be vouched for by at least seven respectable persons of their congregations, and pay a fee of 5s. to the Clerk of the Peace, when they received a prescribed certificate or licence giving them the necessary authority. The act also rendered valid all previous marriages performed by such ministers. The Rev. Robert McDowall, here referred to, was the first Presbyterian minister in the district. His marriage register is preserved in the Library of Queen's University.

Counties of Lenox, Hastings and Northumberland for members wages for the year 1800.

AT THE COURT OF GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE,
HELD AT ADOLPHUS TOWN ON THE TWENTY SEVENTH
DAY OF JANUARY, 1801.

Present :—Alex. Fisher Esq Chairman, Thos. Dorland, A. Clark, J. Stinson, J. Cumming, J. Miller, J. Peters, B. Crawford, P. Smith.

A Licence from the Sessions was given to Mr. John G. Wigant, authorizing him to be a Lutheran Minister at the recommendation of William Beuniher, Martin Fraleigh, Michael Smith, Jonas Amy, Ludovick Hartman, Conrad Borgand, Charles Keller.¹

28th Jan. It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that the sum of fifteen pounds ten shillings be levied from the inhabitants of the County of Frontenac for Edward Jessup, Esq for Member's wages for the year 1800.

[Eleven pounds levied from same County for same member for year 1799.]

It is ordered by the Magistrates in Sessions that the sum of Twenty-three pounds ten shillings be allowed to William Fairfield Esq for the County of Addington and Ontario for the year 1800.

[Twenty-two pounds from same Counties for same member, apparently for 1799.]

SPECIAL SESSIONS HELD AT KINGSTON, 30TH MARCH, 1801.

Magistrates Present :—R. Cartwright, T. Markland, P. Smith, Esqs.

The Road Masters were called upon to produce their accounts for the year 1800.

[Accounts follow and sections are assigned for following year.]

COURT OF GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS OF THE PEACE, HELD AT
KINGSTON THE 28TH OF APRIL, 1801.

Magistrates Present :—Richard Cartwright, Esq., Chairman, Alex. Fisher, Thos. Markland, Wm. Atkinson, Thos. Dorland, Caleb Gilbert, Bryan Crawford, Joshua Booth, John Cumming, Dan'l Wright, John W. Myers.

¹ See previous note. The names of seven persons required to testify to the minister's position are here given.

ALUMNI CONFERENCE—FEBRUARY 1901.

MONDAY.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of Modern Life by Tennyson. Rev. Armstrong Black.

4 p.m.—The Age of St Augustine. Prof. Glover.

8 p.m.—The Relation of Legislation and Morality. Professor Shortt, W. S. Morden, LL.B., J. R. Lavell, B.A., Rev. M. Macgillivray, M.A.

TUESDAY.

10 a.m.—The Chancellor's Lectureship. Dr. Watson. Subject, St. Augustine.

11-1—Persian Influence on Judaism. Rev. R. J. Hutcheon, M.A. Discussion opened by N. R. Carmichael, M.A., and Rev. M. Macgillivray, M.A.

3 p.m.—The Method of St. Paul's teaching. Discussion opened by Rev. R. Laird, M.A., W. N. Anderson, B.A., and Rev. Dr. Eby.

8 p.m.—The Function of Journalism in a democracy. J. G. Willison, J. G. Elliott, Rev. J. A. McDonald, John Marshall and the Principal.

WEDNESDAY.

10 a.m.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

11-1—The Book of Ecclesiastes. Rev. Dr. Milligan. Discussion opened by Rev. J. A. Grant, B.A.

3 p.m.—Interpretation of Modern Life by Tennyson. Rev. Armstrong Black.

4 p.m.—The Book of Jonah. Rev. N. McPherson, B.D., and J. Young, M.A.

8 p.m.—Life, Organism, Environment. Rev. Dr. Lyle. Discussion opened by Prof. Knight, Dr. Clarke and Rev. J. Millar, M.A.

THURSDAY.

10 a.m.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

11-1—The Maccabean Epoch and its Literature. T. A. Cosgrove, B.A. The Book of Daniel. W. W. Peck, LL.B.

3-5 p.m.—The Substance of St. Paul's Teaching. Discussion by Prof. McNaughton, Revs. S. G. Bland, J. Binnie, M.A., E. Thomas, B.A., and D. Strachan, B.A.

8 p.m.—Amos, the Desert Prophet. Prof. McFayden, B.A. Discussion opened by Prof. Jordan.

FRIDAY.

10 a.m.—The Chancellor's Lectureship.

11-1—The Literature of the 1st Century B.C. By Revs. J. Turnbull, M.A., and John Hay, B.D.

3 p.m.—What does the Documentary theory of the Pentateuch mean. Prof. Jordan.

4 p.m.—Students Meeting.

8 p.m.—Lecture on "The National Outlook." By Dr. Parkin, C.M.G.

SATURDAY.

11 a.m.—Meeting of the Alumni. Arrangement for the year following, etc.

CURRENT EVENTS.

IT is said that the difficulty of knowing the real mind of a woman is that she herself does not know it ; but what is the depth of a woman's mind compared to that of a nation, especially if the nation be racially heterogeneous and scattered over half a continent ! No wonder that for a time Canada was but dimly conscious of her own deepest thoughts and feelings. Annexation, plausibly disguised as "Manifest Destiny," or "the Continent to which we belong" theory, secession, attractively termed "Independence," commercial union, or a liaison which combined political allegiance to the Queen with trade subjection to rings at Washington, were advocated by seductive voices, all asserting too that the defenders of Imperial unity were quite as revolutionary as themselves. They certainly made as much noise and seemed to have as large a following. But, as in a great assembly, where different motions are submitted with each supported by two or three eloquent speakers, it seems to onlookers in the gallery as if the house were equally divided until the vote is called for, when perhaps half a dozen hands are held up for the amendments and thousands as silently for the main motion, and the strife of tongues at once subsides, so has it been in Canada. The Empire was insolently threatened ; its territories were invaded at 48 hours notice ; and almost as quickly, in an informal but none the less real way, there was a vote which declared the mind of Greater Britain so unmistakably that there remains now no doubt on the subject. As a people, Canadians reject, for ever, suicide, secession, and liaisons. We abide by our history and our Constitution ; our flag, our Queen, and our world-wide Empire with its mission of liberty, justice and peace, each and all so precious that we must be ready to fight for each and all. On this occasion, we have given for the common cause two or three millions of money, and including the Strathcona horse and the Halifax and Esquimalt garisons—about four thousand men. Had there been need we would have given both men and money ten times over. Our population is as great as England's was in the days of Elizabeth, and far greater than Scotland's in the age of Wallace and Bruce. All the world knows the great things our fathers did then, and their children are not likely to forget. It always "pays," in a far higher than the vulgar sense of the word, to make sacrifices for national life or the honour without which life is not worth living.

But what of the attitude of the French-speaking section of our population, it is asked ? On the whole, it has been admirable ; but to understand it, one must understand them and their position. 'Put yourself in his place,' is always a righteous demand. Well, suppose that Canada belonged to France and not to Britain ; that one Province was British and had been British for two centuries

The attitude of
French-speaking
Canadians.

before French settlers came to the country, and that the other six Provinces were French; would that one Province shout enthusiastically and give its children and its wealth lavishly for the glory of France, were France engaged in a distant war, on the merits of which our own Mother Country and the rest of the world were—to say the least—by no means clear? Not a bit of it. No one would expect anything so unreasonable from us. And, if a mob tried to ram the flag of France down our throats, it would not increase our love for that flag to any great extent. In such a case, we would jealously guard every constitutional right we had won. We would be true to the Sovereign to whom we had sworn allegiance, but above all we would be true to the Country which our forefathers had made and in the soil of which their ashes reposed. In time, doubtless, we would fuse with the new and more numerous Canadians and become one people with them; but they would need to have great patience with us and win our affections by legitimate means if they wished to bring about such a consummation. Could we, little more than half a century after we had fought for political rights, be expected to say more than Mr. Monet said the other day?—"I am a Canadian; I am not French, I am not English, but I am Canadian, loving this country because it is the land of our forefathers, who were Canadians, and I will defend inch by inch the bulwark of our political freedom?" Would not some of us rise and say with Mr. Bourassa;—"We have a written Constitution, and that Constitution is not only the legal form of our Government, it is also a solemn and sacred compact between the various Provinces of British North America. It may of course need reforms and additions. But when amendment is required, it will be made only by the free and independent action of both the Canadian and the British Parliaments and approved by the people of Canada." And if our Premier happened to be a man who raised every discussion in which he took part to a higher level, and who had given his whole political life to the promotion of unity, harmony and amity between the diverse elements of the country, what would we think of partisans who sought to excite prejudice against him in the other Provinces on the grounds of his being British and Protestant? Is it necessary to point the moral of the parallel which I have attempted to suggest?

It is well to get at your opponent's point of view, and quite necessary when he is worth converting; but it is difficult to arrive at intellectual sympathy with professed and protectionist lovers of Imperial unity who yet vote against the preferential tariff in favour of Britain. They say that it is a fraud, but how can that be if two is less than three? Both parties declare that as the Canadian manufacturer can not stand on the basis of free trade with Britain, he must have for a time the protection of a fence against all outsiders.

Tariff Preference
in favour of
Britain.

But, say some of our friends, the Government first made the fence higher and then lowered it in favour of Britain. Even if that were so, it proves nothing against the reality of the preference. Suppose they had made it 100 yards high, it was still only $87\frac{1}{2}$ against the British manufacturer, then only 75, and hereafter it will be only $66\frac{2}{3}$. It would be precisely the same if the fence were 100 miles high. The Canadian manufacturer having been encouraged to go into business has his rights, and the first of these is that the lowering of the fence must be gradual. As all admit that, how can it be said, even by people whose powers of counting are limited to their five fingers, that three and two are the same? What increases the difficulty of appreciating their position is that they contend that a preference in our favour by Britain of even one-fourth as much would be a wonderful boon. In a word, figures mean something on one side of the Atlantic and nothing on the other side. There is no sentiment in trade, says Dr. Montague. Certainly not, echoes Mr. Bourassa, and he stands up and votes with the ex-Cabinet minister. But the Quebecker adds, there should be no sentiment in voting away public money or in sending off our sons to a more distant and sterner fight than that of trade. Canada for Canadians alone, so far as trade is concerned, cries the Ontarian. Canada for Canadians alone, all through the piece, pleads the Quebecker.—Neither cry is worth a cent, but there can be no doubt which is consistent. Mr. Fielding is to be congratulated that the state of the revenue enabled him to make the duties on British goods lower; but as the previous lowering had increased the revenue, he should have held his old tone instead of hinting that he is weary in well-doing. “I do not think,” he gently hints, “that the advocates of tariff revision would ask us to go, on that class of articles, below the rates we have now named,” that is $23\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Will they not? We shall see. But, after all, it was perhaps necessary for him to throw a tub to the whale, and everything depends on what is meant by “a reasonable time in the future.” $12\frac{1}{2}$ in 1897, and 25 in 1898, and $33\frac{1}{3}$ in 1900, and 40 in 1902, would that be “reasonable?” One point is clear, we are travelling on the only track by which a mutual preference will ever be reached. For, whether there is sentiment in trade or not, there is sentiment, lots of it and the best kind, in John Bull. And it will be wiser for us to trust to it than to worry and disgust the old gentleman by insisting that he shall turn his vast business topsy-turvy on the preposterous pretence of a possible slight increase in the 3 per cent. of it that he does with us. In dealing with a somewhat irascible multi-millionaire, it is at least prudent to press along the line of least resistance, instead of butting against the old stone walls he prides himself on possessing, he alone too of all the nations of the earth.

The admission of our securities into the rigidly guarded trustee list is a significant proof of the changed attitude of the British mind regarding Canada. We are no longer a Colony. We have taken our stand as a partner. Ever since Imperial Federation was talked of, Australian and Canadian Commissioners have pleaded that trustees should be entitled by law to invest in Colonial securities, but they were always met with a curt "*Non possumus*." Now, the apparently insurmountable obstacles have vanished, and legislation is to be passed which will put our loans on almost the same footing as British consols. To a country which has to borrow a hundred millions in the course of the next ten years and will have to continue borrowing for an indefinite time, the value of this boon is enormous in itself, and as regards our general credit, while it is gratifying to our national self-respect. It is another illustration of the readiness with which sensible John Bull responds to deeds, and the little heed he pays to words. No doubt, Australia will receive the same privilege, when the Imperial Act to be passed this year constitutes it "The Commonwealth of Australia," in place of the old "Colonies" of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania. West Australia seems disposed to remain outside for a short time, and New Zealand is strong enough to stand by itself and is in fact a separate Confederation, with a virile life of its own. It is the Great Britain and Australia the Europe of the Southern Seas.

Another General, and this time a man of distinguished ability, obliged to leave the service of Canada, because party insisted on extending the spoils system to the Militia, even amid the stern realities of war! It was known for some time that friction existed between the General and his Minister; but in view of the high qualities of the former and his boundless energy, people hoped that they might be able to work together as long as the war lasted. At such a time as this, the British Government might have been spared our domestic quarrels and Canada might have been allowed to retain the best General the Militia has ever had. With us the General holds the same position as the Commander-in-Chief at the War Office in London, and he, though subordinate to the civilian Secretary of State for War and the Cabinet, is responsible for the maintenance of discipline and for all appointments. Here, however, party claims everything, and against that, as a rule neither service nor fitness counts. The General is only an "adviser," and that is interpreted to mean receiving instead of giving advice. If he declines to take advice, which in his judgment is bad, regarding appointments or other matters, and throws the responsibility on the Minister of Militia, he is declared "insubordinate." This system, bad in any Department and shocking where the lives of men are

Our Securities
in the
Trustee List.

General Hutton
and the Minister
of Militia.

concerned, has the sanction of the present and past Governments but it has only to be fully shown up to be condemned by every one. A real man, an entity not "a non-entity," is needed for the post of General. Given that, it matters little whether he be English, Scotch, Irish, Australian, Afrikaner or Canadian. But, as no man worth his salt will remain in the position when he discovers that he is expected to be only a figure-head and a screen for political log-rolling, the result must be to give us a non-entity, and behind his name and office abominations will go on while everything looks lovely. The present Government did well, in so increasing the salary of the General that they were able to secure a first-class man; but how could they expect such a man to be a slave and a fraud? Let them pass an Order-in-Council defining the sphere of the General, and declaring that party and personal claims shall not extend to our War power, before they ask a self-respecting man to succeed General Hutton. It would be the most popular thing they could do as well as the right thing; for no Government, now we are at war, can retain the confidence of the militia or of the people by adhering to the old system. This is one of the things that must be done, and not merely "taken into consideration."

Three months ago it was said in "Current Events," "far too much has been made of our reverses." It may now be said with equal truth that far too much has been made of our successes. The public always goes from one extreme to the other, and the London press has proved itself little better than that of New York or Paris, as a restraining and steady intellectual force. Because our two greatest Generals with 40,000 men at their command, including a sufficient force of superb cavalry, captured Cronje with his 5000 and entered Bloemfontein, a town on the open veldt incapable of being defended, shouts went up on all sides that the war was practically at an end, and "experts" announced that Roberts would enter Pretoria on May 15th! Last October, it was jauntily prophesied that Buller would eat his Christmas dinner in Pretoria. It is now denied that *he* ever said so. Next month it will be denied that Wolseley ever fixed on May 15th as the day for Roberts' entry into that city. Everyone wishes and hopes that the war will end soon, but can anything but evil come from shutting our eyes to facts as big as the Transvaal; which is a country somewhat bigger than France? Natal is not yet cleared of the enemy; Mafeking is not relieved; the main force of the enemy is intact; the Transvaal has not been entered even from the South, where the approach to it is easiest and by railway; and the burghers are still determined to fight rather than submit to British Sovereignty. In war, the unexpected usually happens and therefore possibly Kruger may wilt at any moment and sur-

The War

render what he has stubbornly fought for all his life. Is it likely? As to the defence of Pretoria, what outstanding lesson should the war have taught the man on the street? This, that a place indifferently situated and fortified can be defended for months against overwhelming numbers. The Boers could not capture Mafeking, Kimberley or Ladysmith. But Pretoria is splendidly fortified, provisioned, supplied with modern cannon, magazine rifles, maxims, and with men who know how to shoot and who will fight knowing that Europe is with them at heart and that intervention may come in the autumn, when the Paris Exposition is over.

But, "the Free Staters are either surrendering or quarrelling with the Transvaal Burghers." The quarrels amount to no more than the jealousies between our rival cities, and a minority in the Free State, with its headquarters in Bloemfontein, have been traditionally friends to Britain and were opposed to the war. Indeed, the common opinion among European experts, when the Orange Free State ranged itself on the side of the Transvaal was that our task had thereby been greatly simplified. Had it remained neutral, its best soldiers could have quietly joined their kinsfolk, and we, obliged to respect the neutrality of the State, could not have made Bloemfontein our base of operations nor advanced across the open, high veldt to the Vaal. We would have been dependent on one line of Railway, and it would have needed an enormous force to guard it, especially along the borders, while fear of exciting so model a Republic into enmity would have paralysed our operations during the war, and our freedom when effecting a final settlement. The moral advantage of capturing the capital of one of the Republics is considerable, and the strategic value of Bloemfontein now that it is in our hands immense, but to suppose that the enemy's back has been broken is a delusion. The preposterous offers of peace made by the two Presidents ought to show this. They have no conception that they are near the end of their resources. Of course, their real object in offering terms was to "draw" Lord Salisbury. They have drawn him, but they must feel to little advantage as far as their moral position is concerned. Nothing could be in better tone than his answer. In substance he says, we were arguing disputed points, and while doing so—knowing that your armed strength was greatly in excess of ours on the spot—we took steps to strengthen our garrisons; and, just when it suited you, came the insolent ultimatum and an invasion of the Queen's territories so formidable that you are still intrenched within them. You now sanctimoniously propose peace on conditions which you would not have ventured to propose six or nine months ago!!

G.

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